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THE SYNTAX OF THE CONFESSIONS OF SAINT AUGUSTINE

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
SISTER MARY RAPHAEL ARTS, M. A.
of
The Sisters of Saint Benedict of St. Scholastica's Academy
Ft. Smith, Arkansas

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N. B. Full references to articles in periodicals will be made in the footnotes. All other works noted in the bibliography will be referred to by author and page number only.

PREFACE.

The completion of the present study has been a long cherished hope. With the publication of the second edition of De Labriolle's *Histoire de la Littérature Latine Chrétienne* (Paris, 1924), my desire to accomplish some work on the language of the Confessions was still further increased by the French scholar's remark (p. 739): "La langue de saint A. a été fort peu étudiée. Voy, pourtant M. Columkille Colbert, *The Syntax of the De Civitate Dei,* Diss., Washington, 1923; Wilfrid Parsons, *A Study of the Vocabulary and Rhetoric in the Letters of St. Augustine,* ibid., 1923; et le t. VII de P. Monceaux. Cette lacune est particulièrement regrettable pour les *Confessions.*" De Labriolle might also have mentioned Régnier's *De la Latinité des Sermons de S. Augustin* (Paris, 1886), —although this work was written when the study of Ecclesiastical Latin was still in its infancy, and this subject of the language of St. Augustine's sermons might well be investigated anew. Moreover, there has since appeared on the Latinity of St. Augustine the following: Rev. G. Reynolds, *The Clausulae in the De Civitate Dei of St. Augustine,* Washington, 1924; and Sister M. Inviolata Barry, *St. Augustine, the Orator, A study of the rhetorical qualities of St. Augustine's Sermones ad Populum,* ibid., 1924. Except for Jósef Balogh, Vasa Lecta et Pretiosa Szent Ágoston Konfessziói Egy Stilustörténeti Tanulmány Vázlata, Budapest, 1918, which in no way does justice to the subject, nothing has been done on the language of the Confessions before the present work.

In this study I have endeavored to give a systematic presentation, with a suitable background, of all deviations from strictly Classical syntactical usage as they appear in the Confessions. Passages which could be regarded as quotations from Scripture have not been included in this study. In referring to the various periods of Latinity, I have used the following terms, as here indicated: ante-Classical (before Lucretius); Classical (from Lucretius to the death of Augustus); post-Classical or Silver (Livy to the Antonines); and Late Latin (from 138 A. D. to about 600 A. D.). Many features of syntax, which occur in Classical Latin but rarely,

have been noted for the reason that their frequency is usually a characteristic of late Latin.

The text used is that of Knöll, with due consideration taken of the changes suggested by De Labriolle.

To Professor Roy J. Deferrari, Chairman of the Latin and Greek Departments at the Catholic University of America, the author expresses her sincere appreciation and gratitude for the suggestion of the subject, and for his careful and untiring direction throughout the development of the monograph. She is also indebted to Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire of the Departments of Latin and Greek, for kind assistance and many valuable suggestions. Many thanks are also due to Rev. James A. Geary of the Department of Comparative Philology, and Rev. A. Vaschalde, Ph. D. of the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures, for having examined the manuscript and offered many helpful criticisms, and to Rev. J. Marshall Campbell, Ph. D. of the Departments of Greek and Latin, for having carefully examined the proof sheets. Finally, my sincere gratitude is due to the Superiors and members of my Community, who afforded me the opportunity of making this study.

May 4, 1927.

INTRODUCTION.

The Confessions of St. Augustine as Literature.[1]

The Confessions written about the year 400 form a class of literature inaugurated by Augustine. They exhibit his personality and reveal his individuality in the most abstract matters. They manifest most strikingly the combined gifts of his heart and mind, which have exerted a tremendous influence over all succeeding ages. It is one of the most famous autobiographies in the special form of an outpouring of the heart before the all-knowing God.

The thirteen books may be divided into three parts, viz. Books one to four, where he mercilessly acknowledges the sins committed up to the time of his return to Carthage and exhibits his mental development from his earliest recollections. The second part, Books five to nine, treats of his experiences with Faustus the Manichee, his voyage to Rome, his spiritual struggles, and the death of his mother. The three last books are little else than mysticism and philosophy or exegetical meditations on the creation narrative in Genesis. Their fame rests upon the deep religious element exhibited throughout, and on their simple sincerity and untarnished truth. It is one of the most moving books of antiquity on the interior history of a soul in the form of a prayer and a confession directed to God. Penetrated through and through with remorse for his sins, he recalled them not because he wished to justify himself in the eyes of posterity or to make people believe that no one was better than himself, but rather because he wished to present the marvelous effects of Divine Grace in his own soul. Augustine could have continued the history of his life further, but he probably wished to speak only about that period of vagueness and uncer-

[1] For full discussion, cf. M. Schanz, *Römische Litteratur-Geschichte*, part IV, 2, Munich, 1920; A. Baumgartner, *Die Lateinische und Griechische Literatur der Christlichen Völker*, Freiburg, 1905; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur*, vol. IV, Freiburg, 1924; A. Gudeman, in Sammlung Göschen, *Geschichte der Altchristlichen Lateinischen Literatur vom 2.-6. Jahrhundert*, Berlin und Leipzig, 1925; R. L. Ottley, *Studies in the Confessions of St. Augustine*, London, 1919.

tainty during which he was seeking the truth. In recalling the various incidents of his life Augustine seeks the supernatural causes and influences which brought him from the depths of evil and ruin to a fierce struggle for peace and the love of God. He points out how the Grace of God freed him from pagan ideas, Manichaean phantasies, Platonic fancies, and the bonds of sin, and opened up for him the treasures of wisdom and truth found in the Holy Scriptures and traditions of Christianity, all of which he had set aside because of the simplicity of their style. Unbeknown to the author, the treatise shaped itself into a song of praise for Divine Grace, whose operations the great theologian developed further in his subsequent writings.

It is probably due to the emotional content of the Confessions that up to this time but little attention has been given to their style. By most scholars it is considered a genuine work of art belonging to the world's literature, owing its renown to both content and style. From a close examination of the Confessions, including several remarks on the part of the author himself, we conclude that Augustine in his Confessions did not intend to make them a purely historical and objective presentation, but intended rather to edify and to instruct. Therefore we often find him resorting to exaggeration which is particularly evident in the passages which deal with the incidents of his early life, and also where he recalls and relates to God the misdeeds of his later life, for after all Augustine's mode of life before he became a Christian must be considered as conforming to the ordinary pagan standards of living. Throughout his treatise Augustine manifests himself as the former rhetorician, for the entire work is charmingly interspersed with word and thought figures. The outstanding figure is the metaphor. The figures are, however, subordinate to the thought, and hence serve only to carry the reader along in a most interesting manner, and do not cause him to lose sight of the author's aim, viz. to keep the attention riveted on the thoughts under consideration. We admit that Augustine while writing the Confessions was in a frame of mind well adapted to cast aside most, if not all, aesthetic and literary considerations or at least to give them scant attention. But since his purpose was not only to edify but also to instruct, a brilliant mind like our author's must needs draw on psychological means to attain his end. It was necessary for him to have a cer-

tain finish and beauty of style to attract the average reader of his age.

The tremendous success of the Confessions rests rather on their description of interior things, on their portrayal of the inner life of the soul, and on facts relating to the spiritual world. They are noted for their content, which appeals to every man who has experienced the struggle between good and evil. The author does not attempt to scale the lofty peaks of holiness, but reveals to us the heart of a passion-tossed youth, and of an ambitious man wrestling with temptation common to all mankind. Hence the great power of the Confessions to rivet the attention lies not in their form but in their content. They belong to the literature of the world, and have been read more than ony other Latin work with the exception of Vergil, and have been translated into the language of every cultured people.

It is the syntax of this world's masterpiece that I propose to discuss in the following pages.

CHAPTER I.

The Noun.

I. *General.*

1. Substantives Used as Adjectives.

In the Classical period of Latinity, the pleonastic use of a substantive before another substantive seems to have been confined to isolated nouns. Authors employ a substantive instead of an adjective only to emphasize an attribute, and occasionally, perhaps, to bring out a particular shade of meaning. Sallust J. 64, 1 has *contemptor* animus; Cicero, Fam. 7, 3, 2 *Tirone* et collecticio exercitu; Caesar, B. G. 7, 20, 12 *victor* exercitus. From Livy on, substantives were so used without restriction. The poets also extended this use. In late Latin, especially among the African authors, we find this construction widespread. The source of this usage is found in such Greek expressions as *ἀνὴρ βασιλεύς, θυγάτηρ παρθένος*, etc., which may be compared with the French, *une femme auteur, peintre, medicin,* etc. Apparently we have in these constructions forerunners of similar expressions in the Romance languages.[1] Comparatively few such syntactical peculiarities occur in the Confessions. The following have been noted:

> 1. ante *hominem* iudicem, Conf. 1, 18. 2. Iustina Valentiniani regis *pueri* mater, Conf. 9, 7. 3. Sed non eis infigatur *gluline* amore per sensus corporis, Conf. 4, 10. 4. quia *peccator* homo sum, Conf. 10, 31. 5. ut eam dissiparem in *meretrices* cupiditates, Conf. 4, 16. 6 non enim uno modo sacrificatur *transgressoribus* angelis, Conf. 1, 18.

In the first example quoted above, Augustine stresses the idea of "human" by using the noun instead of the adjective, distinguishing the mortal or earthly from the Divine Judge. The rest are similar. *Peccator* (in number 4) was a favorite word in this construction among the Fathers, although verbal nouns of this

[1] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 233; S. S. 612; Salonius 171.

class in *tor* and *trix* (cf. number 5) were not used uncommonly in the Classical period.

The end of anything, for example, of a book, a sermon, a letter, is expressed by the adjective *extremum* and not by the noun *finis* in Classical Latin, e. g. *in extrema epistula. In fine,* or *in fine anni* is post-Classical usage.[2] One instance of the noun *fine* used for the adjective *extremum* has been found in the Confessions thus: et signa, quibus sensa mea nota aliis facerem, iam *in fine infantiae* quaerebam, Conf. 1, 6.

The substantive use of *vicina* is Classical. *Vicina* used as an adjective as in the passage below is mostly poetical: dum mihi reducto a Madauris, in qua *vicina* urbe iam coeperam litteraturae atque oratoriae percipiendae gratia peregrinari, Conf. 2, 3. Cf. also 6, 10.

2. Abstract for Concrete Nouns.

Another feature of late Latin style is the extensive use of abstract for concrete nouns. This originated in the language of hunters, farmers, soldiers, lawyers, and from there such nouns gradually found their way into the literature.[3] Augustine, it seems, rarely uses this construction. The following examples have been found:

> Inde sermo eius devolutus est ad monasteriorum greges, et mores *suaveolentiae* tuae, et ubera deserta heremi, quorum nos nihil sciebamus, Conf. 8, 6, i. e. Thy servants who are a sweet savour unto Thee. et civium meorum in aeterna Hierusalem, cui suspirat *peregrinatio* populi tui ab exitu usque ad reditum, Conf. 9, 13. tibi suspiret *peregrinatio* mea, et dico ei qui fecit te ut possideat et me in te, quia fecit et me, Conf. 12, 15.

3. Nouns Used Synonymously.

The part in relation or proportion to the whole is expressed in Classical Latin by *pars,* e. g. *terrae pars. Terrae portio* would not be used in Classical Latin because *portio* signifies a share in something. In Classical Latinity it appears only in the expression *pro portione.* (Cf. Verr. 5, 55 quin Mamertinis *pro portione* imperaretur frumentum). In post-Augustan Latin, however, *portio*

[2] K. S. I, 594.
[3] S. S. 605.

is used for *pars.*[4] Augustine has *portio* for *pars* in the following: ut quaedam *portio* tua et membrum tuum, Conf. 7. 2.

Sermo with the Classicists meant a "talk," "conversation," "discourse," and language in general, e. g. *sermo humanus, sermo patrius* (mother-tongue), *sermo latinus. Oratio* is the Classical word for a public speech, an oration delivered by some one to a crowd, or *contio* when given before the people. A Classicist would not say *sermones Demosthenis,* Lysiae, Ciceronis, etc., but rather *orationes.*[5] Augustine uses *sermo* for *oratio* in the following passage: sed cura fuit tantum, ut discerem *sermonem* facere quam optimum et persuadere dictione, Conf. 2, 2.

Condere for *creare* is found in Cyprian, and *conditor* for *creator,* in Tertullian and Avitus.[6] Both words have undergone a change in meaning since the Classical period, but *creator* is the word usually employed by the Fathers for the Maker of all things. In the Confessions, *conditor* for *creator* occurs thus: cum sis omnium saeculorum auctor et *conditor,* Conf. 11, 13.

Hebetudo, meaning "stupidity," "bluntness," "coolness," is late Latin for *obtusa, obtusior* or *hebes acies,* although the form *hebetatio* is found in Pliny and Seneca.[7] Augustine uses this abstract noun instead of one of the classical expressions, thus: Multa iniuriosa faciunt, mira *hebetudine* et punienda legibus, Conf. 5, 8.

Vivacitas, referring to mental qualities, in the sense of "liveliness," "vivacity," is very late Latin for *viriditas, vigor animi, alacritas animi.*[8] The Confessions furnish one illustration of this late use: erant enim sine verborum cultu *vivacitate* sententiarum iucundi et graves, Conf. 4, 3.

Another late Latin synonym used by Augustine is *figmentum,* meaning "fiction," "invention," where Classical Latinity would have *res ficta, commenticia,* etc. African writers particularly are partial to the use of this word, e. g. Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Gellius, and others.[9] Example: an poetica illa *figmenta,* Conf. 1, 13. Cf. also 3, 16.

[4] K. S. II, 326.
[5] K. S. II, 566.
[6] Goelzer (J.) 228; Koffmanne 67; Goelzer (A.) 413.
[7] K. S. I, 647; Goelzer (J.) 106.
[8] K. S. II, 747.
[9] K. S. I, 592.

The ablative of *gratia* to denote purpose or reason = *propter,* with the genitive of nouns and the genitive of the gerund and gerundive, is not used as often in Classical prose as *causa.* Later its use became more frequent. Caesar and Livy use *gratia* only when another *causa* by its proximity might cause confusion.[10] Our author uses *gratia* for *causa* only infrequently with nouns, gerunds, and gerundives thus: cuius rei *gratia,* Conf. 9, 8. non discendi *gratia,* Conf. 3, 11. Cf. also 2, 3; 4, 2; 4, 16; 11, 15; 11, 23.

In Classical Latinity the meanings of *anima, animus, mens* and *intellectus* are as follows: Anima *signifies* "soul" as the vital principle, the breath of life, the living being. In Sallust it meant the whole spiritual life in general in contrast to the body.

Animus signifies in a general sense the "rational soul" in man in contrast to the word *corpus* and includes "understanding," "will" and "feeling." Moreover, in this sense it is used oftener than *anima.* Cf. Nonius 426 *animus* est, quo sapimus, *anima* qua vivimus. Hence "immortal soul," and "immortality of the soul," are expressed in Cicero by *immortales animi, immortalitas animorum.*

Mens signifies "soul," "spirit," "consciousness," "reason." It differs from *animus* in that it means the "thinking spirit," the "understanding," while *animus* means the "feeling," "desiring spirit." "To think of," "to recall something," is expressed by *in mentem,* and not by *in animum venire,* which is first found in Fronto. "To have in mind" is expressed by in *animo habere,* and not by *in mente habere.*

Intellectus is not a Classical word, and first occurs in Quintilian, meaning "understanding," "comprehension." It is synonymous with the Classical terms, *intellegentia, ratio, cognitio,* etc.[11] Augustine, in his Confessions, often seems to make no distinction at all in his use of *anima* and *animus* for the Christian conception of "soul." Cf. Conf. 4, 15; 5, 12; 6, 6, passim, for *anima;* and Conf. 5, 14; 6, 7; 6, 8, passim, for *animus.* He often uses *mens* for *anima* and *animus.* The following are illustrations: aut duas malas naturas et duas malas *mentes* in uno homine confligere putabunt, Conf. 8, 10. nam ergo non dicant, cum duas voluntates in

[10] K. S. I, 631; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 422 and 744.
[11] K. S. I, 164, 167, 762; II, 73.

homine uno adversari sibi sentiunt, duas contrarias *mentes,* de duabus contrariis, Conf. 8, 10. Cf. also 6, 6; 6, 7, passim.

For the late Latin word, *intellectus,* which means the "understanding," found six times, cf. Conf. 12, 22; 13, 7; (13, 23) twice; 13, 24; 13, 34.

II. Number.

A. *Concrete Nouns.*

1. Singular for Plural.

The singular *pes* with a plural meaning seems to be poetical and Silver Latin usage. It is so used by Curtius and Livy.[12] The Confessions offer an example of *pes* in the singular where we would expect the plural: usque ad Italicum solum glaciale nudo *pede* obterendum insolito ausu, Conf. 9, 6.

Catena in a literal sense in Classical authors is found chiefly in the plural. In a figurative sense the singular of *catena* is mostly post-Classical and late Latin usage. The use of the singular in a figurative sense was employed by Sallust.[13] Augustine has an example of this use of the singular: et deligatus morbo carnis mortifera suavitate trahebam *catenam* meam, Conf. 6, 12; cf. also 8, 5.

Sarcina meaning "luggage," "load," "burden," "bundle," is used only in the plural in Classical prose.[14] In a figurative sense the singular seems to occur sometimes, for example in Ovid H. 4, 24; id. P. 3, 7, 14. The singular in a figurative sense appears several times in the Confessions: onerabat me grandis *sarcina* miseriae, ad te, domine, Conf. 4, 7. Cf. also 6, 6; 8, 5; 9, 1; 9, 2.

The following concrete nouns appear also in the Confessions in the singular instead of the Classical plural: nisi electi sancti *dente* ac ventre solverentur, Conf. 3, 10. afferremus escas, de quibus nobis in officina *aqualiculi* sui fabricarent angelos et deos, per quos liberaremur, Conf. 4, 1. Cf. also *corde,* in 4, 8; *incorporea re,* 4, 15.

The singular of *ceterum,* a neuter substantive, seldom appears in Classical literature. Note the singular in Augustine: qui iam didiceram irasci mihi de praeteritis, ut de *cetero* non peccarem, Conf. 9, 4.

[12] Draeger I, 4. [13] K. S. I, 265. [14] K. S. II, 536.

2. Plural for Singular.

Classical usage calls a private bath *balneum*. The poets of the Augustan period, e. g. Ovid, Horace, also used the feminine form *balnea* to meet the requirements of meter. A public bath was termed *thermae*.[15] If Augustine means private bath in the example quoted below, he should use the singular form; if public bath, the word *thermae*: Quin immo ubi me ille pater in *balneis* vidit pubescentem, Conf. 2, 3.

B. *Collective Nouns.*

1. Plural for Singular.

The plural of collective nouns is seldom found in Cicero and Caesar but frequently in Livy, Sallust, and the poets. *Capillus* (hair of the head) was used in the singular as a collective noun in the ante-Classical period. It is found in the plural once in Cicero, Pis. 25 erant illi compti *capilli*. Its plural use is frequent after the Augustan poets.[16] The following examples are from the Confessions: grande profundum est ipse *homo*, cuius etiam *capillos* tu, domine, Conf. 4, 14. tamen *capilli* eius magis numerabiles, Conf. 4, 14.

III. Case.

A. *Nominative and Vocative Cases.*

The forms of the nominative and vocative cases overlap. In late Latin only words of the second declension in *us* have a separate form for the vocative. But the nominative even of these forms often appears as the vocative, especially in poetry and solemn prose; so regularly *deus*.[17] In the Confessions the Classical *deus* appears frequently throughout as the form of address, but, except for *dominus* in apposition with the vocative *deus* (cf. 13, 1), the nominative forms of no other nouns are so used.

When an attributive adjective is used with a vocative it usually has the vocative form. We find this in the Classical poets, e. g.

[15] K. S. I, 232.
[16] Kaulen 242; K. S. I, 259; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 70.
[17] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 255.

Hor. C. 2, 7, 5; Catull. 77, 1; Prop. 2, 15, 2. Classical prose, as a rule, would use a relative clause.[18] Augustine has several stereotyped phrases which involve the nominative form of the adjective agreeing with the vocative, e. g. itane, *domine* deus *meus,* Conf. 1, 2. Scis tu *domine* deus *meus,* Conf. 4, 16. *domine meus* et *deus meus,* Conf. 9, 4. Cf. also 1, 18; 4, 14; 5, 6; 9, 13; 10, 3, passim.

Deus meus is common in the Vulgate and Christian Latin generally. The following examples from the Confessions of the nominative for the vocative are not common phrases:

> Insiste, *anime meus,* Conf. 11, 27. *medice meus intime,* Conf. 10, 3. *deus solus magnus,* Conf. 1, 18. summe, optime . . . *numquam novus,* numquam vetus . . . semper agens, semper *quietus,* colligens, Conf. 1, 4.[19]

B. *Accusative.*

Ecclesiastical Latin made comparatively few changes in the use of the accusative case. Languages in general agree in their use of the accusative after transitive verbs. They differ in certain instances, however, because many synonymous verbs are interpreted differently in different languages. When a Latin says *iuvo te,* "I support you," *sequor te,* "I accompany you," a Greek would think and say, "I help you," i. e. "I am a helper to you," *βοηθῶ σοι,* and "I follow you," i. e. "I am a companion, attendant to you," *ἕπομαί σοι, ἀκολουθῶ σοι.* On the other hand, English says: "I envy you," "I spare you," but the Latin: "I am an object of hatred to you," "sparing, forbearing towards you." Thus in the course of the development of the Latin language, as it came in contact with foreign languages of different idiom, transitive and intransi-

[18] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 255.

[19] It is interesting to note also that the only time Christ is directly addressed in the Confessions occurs in the following passage: quo subderem cervicem leni iugo tuo, et umeros leni sarcinae tuae, *Christe Iesu,* adiutor meus, Conf. 9, 1.

Three times in the Confessions, prayer is addressed to God through Christ, thus:

obsecro per dominum nostrum *Iesum Christum* filium tuum, Conf. 11, 2. bone pater, per *Christum* obsecro, Conf. 11, 22. per *Christum* obsecro, in nomine eius sancti sanctorum nemo mihi obstrepat, Conf. 11, 22.

tive verbs were confused. The poets particularly are responsible for extending the use of transitive verbs.[20] The following examples of confusions of this kind appear in the Confessions.

1. Transitive Verbs Used Intransitively.

Anhelare (to pant for) in a figurative sense takes the accusative in Classical prose.[21] The dative follows this verb in the Confessions, thus: et *anhelo tibi* (meaning Christ), Conf. 10, 27.

Indignari (to be indignant at) is followed by the accusative in Classical Latin. The dative does not occur until Ulpianus (A. D. 228) Dig. 48, 5, 2; and Tertullian Pud. 7.[22] Our author uses the late Latin construction, thus: *indignari* acriter non *subiectis hominibus liberis* et *maioribus, hisque,* Conf. 1, 7, also 1, 6.

Miserari (to have mercy, pity, compassion) governs the accusative. In poetical and late Latin the genitive is used.[23] Our author has a single example of the poetical and late Latin construction: *miseratus* es non solum *eius* sed etiam *nostri,* Conf. 9, 3.

Oblivisci (to forget) takes the accusative of the thing and the genitive of the person in Classical Latinity. The accusative of the person is found only in the poets, e. g. Liv. Andr. fr. 4 *te oblitus sum.*[24] Augustine has the genitive of the thing after *oblivisci,* and in another place the accusative of the person. The latter may be explained as being attracted into the case of *me,* the direct object of *fecisti: obliviscens laborum omnium,* Conf. 9, 4. Invoco te, deus meus qui fecisti me et (*sc. me*) *oblitum* tui non *oblitus es,* Conf. 13, 1. For Classical usage of *oblivisci,* cf. Conf. 1, 13; 10, 24; 13, 21.

Praecedere (surpass, excel) is not found with the accusative in Cicero, Nepos, Tacitus, and Sallust, and only once in Caesar Gall. 1, 1, 4 *reliquas Gallos* virtute *praecedunt.* Livy usually uses it absolutely, as do Curtius and Suetonius. In a figurative sense the dative follows it in Plautus, Asin. 629. The dative is the usual

[20] Draeger I, 355; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 257 ff; Goelzer (A) 59; Goelzer (J) 302; Gabarrou 104; S. S. 354.

[21] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 278; K. S. I, 164.

[22] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 262; K. S. I, 724.

[23] K. S. II, 89; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 470.

[24] S. S. 368; K. S. II, 168; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 471.

form in poetical, Silver, and late Latin.[15] We note the following example in the Confessions: *Praecedentia consequentibus,* Conf. 10, 8.

Meditari (to think, to meditate) has the accusative or *ad* with accusative and *de* with ablative in Classical writers. Our author uses *in* and the ablative thus: *meditari inardesco in lege tua,* Conf. 11, 2.

Reminisci (to remember) is seldom followed by the genitive. The accusative is more frequent.[26] Our author uses both constructions. Note the genitive in the following passage: cum *reminiscor tui,* Conf. 10, 24. For the accusative after *reminiscor* cf. 10, 16.

Insinuare (to steal into, ingratiate oneself) takes *in* or *inter* with the accusative in the Classical period. The dative, as in the example below, is poetical and post-Classical usage.[27] *insinuasti* illi *pectori?* Conf. 8, 2.

Infundere (to pour into) followed by the dative is poetical and Silver Latin usage. *In* and the accusative is Classical.[28] One instance with the dative has been found in: *infusa cordi meo,* Conf. 8, 12.

Subrepere (to steal or creep upon) with the dative is poetical and late Latin.[29] Note an instance from the Confessions: crapula autem nonnumquam *subrepsit servo tuo,* Conf. 10. 31.

Flere (cry, cry over something) is usually used as an intransitive verb with *de aliqua re.* In the poets and occasionally in prose we find the accusative.[30] Augustine uses the poetical construction in: *flere* autem *offensione* carnis meae, Conf. 1, 6.

Evadere (to escape, evade) requires *ex* with the ablative in Classical Latin. Livy often uses the accusative, also Columella, Tacitus, Suetonius and late Latin authors.[31] The following instance from the Confessions has the accusative: nec *evasi flagella tua,* Conf. 2, 2.

The dative is often found in the Confessions after *confiteri* in the

[25] K. S. I, 724; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 272 and 333.
[26] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 471; K. S. II, 497.
[27] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 328.
[28] Kühner II, 1, 332.
[29] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 269.
[30] K. S. I, 598; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 262.
[31] K. S. I, 528; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 362.

sense of "give praise to God." This construction occurs frequently in the Scriptures and in Ecclesiastical writers in general.[31a] The following are examples from the Confessions:

> *confiteor tibi*, Conf. 1, 6. *cui confitetur* anima, Conf. 4, 12. *confitear nomini tuo*, Conf. 2, 7. ecce et hoc *confiteor misericordiae tuae* pater orfanorum, Conf. 9, 12. Cf. also 4, 1; 4, 6; 4, 14 passim.

2. Intransitive Verbs Used Transitively.

The accusative after intransitive verbs is used more extensively in Greek than in Latin. However, the construction is also characteristic of Latin, due to the poets who extended this usage in various combinations, Greek serving as their model. We find this accusative in ante-Classical Latin, at times in Cicero, not in Caesar, now and again in later prose writers, such as Seneca, Pliny, Curtius, Vellius, Tacitus, etc., but very frequently in Apuleius and late Latin. It originated in the formation of the cognate accusative, e. g. *pugnam pugnare,* "to fight a fight," *μάχην μάχεσθαι.* The verbal idea is reinforced here by the noun. Often an attributive adjective, pronoun or clause is added. In ante-Classical Latin especially we find the substantive with the same stem as the verb, e. g. *somniavi somnium, servitutem serviat, cenam cenavi, dicta dicere;* or the cognate accusative may be replaced by a word of similar meaning, but of a different root. This usage too is rare and mostly poetical, e. g. *dicta loqui, ite viam;* but the most frequent combination, found principally in poetry and late Latin, is a verb with a substantive which is an attribute of the substantive notion that lies in the verb, e. g. Juven. 2, 3 *Bacchanalia vivere* (to live a dissipated life); *occumbere mortem* (to die) in Cicero Tusc. 1, 102; also Livy 2, 7, 8; but it is mainly found in late Latin. Copied from Greek models is, e. g. Gell. 17, 21, 9 *victos esse* ab Atheniensibus Persas memoriae traditum est *pugnam illam inclitam,* which is to be compared with Isocr. 4, 145 *τὰς μάχας ὅσας ἡττήθησαν.* Horace furnishes a striking example in Ep. 1, 1, 50 *coronari Olympia, στεφανώσασθαι τὰ Ὀλύμπια,* (to wreathe onself with a wreath).[32] The following similar examples appear in the Confessions:

[31a] T. L. L. vol. IV, p. 231, 1, 11. [32] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 275 and 277.

Ambulare governing an accusative is poetic.[33] Example: *ambulare vias,* Conf. 4, 12.

Praebere with an object in the accusative case is ante-Classical and late Latin.[34] This occurs in: *et viam praebeant* ad se verbo tuo, Conf. 12, 16.

Anhelare with the accusative is rare in the Classical period (Cic. Cat. 2, 1; rhet. Her. 4, 68). It is found in late Latin.[35] Our author has the following instance: easque *curas anhelaret,* Conf. 6, 6.

Excedere with the accusative is first found after Livy.[36] There is an instance in the Confessions in: et *excessi omnia legitima tua,* Conf. 2, 2.

Gravare, in the active voice, is poetical and post-Augustan prose. It is seldom used as a finite verb. The use of the passive voice is Classical, but the active use with the accusative is found among the poets and in prose after Seneca.[37] Note this usage in Augustine: ne *sumptum nostrum gravet,* Conf. 6, 11.

Ingredi in a literal and figurative sense is rare with the accusative in the Classical period, but found in Livy and regularly so in late Latin.[38] Example: *procellosam societatem* altius *ingressus sum,* Conf. 1, 8.

Latere with the accusative is poetical. It is found also in Varro and late Latin prose.[39] Note: non *lateat veritatem,* Conf. 10, 23.

Penetrare and the accusative is poetical and post-Augustan prose usage.[40] See this construction in: nam unde *me* facillime et in intima dolor ille *penetraverat,* Conf. 4, 8; cf. also Conf. 3, 5.

Praevenire with the accusative is poetical, and is found also in Sallust, Livy, and later writers.[41] Augustine uses this construction in: ingenio *praeveniebat viros,* Conf. 9, 6.

Proruere with *se* is poetical. It occurs once in Augustine: quaedam catervatim *se proruunt,* Conf. 10, 8.

[33] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 263.
[34] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 93; Bennett I, 5. Gildersleeve-Lodge 210.
[35] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 278; K. S. I, 164.
[36] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 272; K. S. I, 534.
[37] K. S. I, 635.
[38] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 267.
[39] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 257; K. S. II, 8; Draeger I, 356.
[40] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 95; K. S. II, 271; Bennett I, 5.
[41] K. S. II, 372; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 272.

Stupere followed by the accusative is poetical and late Latin usage.[42] Examples: *stupebat servitutem meam,* Conf. 6, 12, in eam quam *stupebat servitutem,* Conf. 6, 12.

The accusative after *taceo, consequor, fugio, sono* is poetical.[43] This usage is represented in the Confessions thus: ne *tacet laudes tuas,* Conf. 5, 1. Cf. also 6, 6. *Tua ista verba sonuisti,* Conf. 8, 4. et *consecutus umbram,* Conf. 2, 6. ecce est ille servus *fugiens dominum suum,* Conf. 2, 6.

In late Latin *promereri* is used transitively.[44] It is so used in the following: qui coniugati coluissent sapientiam, et *promeruissent deum,* Conf. 6, 12.

For accusative after prepositions, gerund, and gerundive cf. chapters on the same.

C. *Dative Case.*

The dative, a case somewhat difficult to define, seems first of all to serve as the object of intransitive verbs and secondly, as an indirect or remote object together with an accusative of the direct object after transitive verbs. It denotes an object not as caused by the action or directly affected by it like the accusative, but as reciprocally sharing in the action. Hence, expressions denoting persons or things with personal attributes are in Latin more likely to be in the dative than those denoting mere things. Since the dative expresses the final aim or ultimate object of an action, it came about that, in the course of the growth of the language, e. g. with the poets and later writers, the dative widened its sphere, especially with verbs indicating a variety of relationships. The Greek dative influenced the later development of the Latin language in this regard, as did also colloquial Latin. Thus characters of lowly stations in life, as depicted by Petronius, use the dative in place of the genitive.[45] Augustine, in his Confessions, makes only moderate use of the later Latin constructions of the dative, as the following sections indicate.

[42] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 263.
[43] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 264 and II, 1, 278; II, 1, 257.
[44] K. S. II, 398.
[45] Draeger I, 401 ff; S. S. 371.

1. Dative After Verbs.

Calumniari (calumniate) with the accusative is Classical; the dative is late Latin. We find the dative in Ambrose, non solum *filio* sed etiam *patri,* Inc. Dom. Sacr. 8, 85. Augustine has the dative thus: non *calumnientur mihi,* Conf. 10. 43.

Congratulari (congratulate) with the dative of the person is Biblical. Note the examples from the Confessions: atque *illis* pie *congratulati sunt,* Conf. 8, 6. an *congratulari mihi* cupiunt, Conf. 10, 4.

Haerere (cleave, cling, be fixed) is sometimes followed by the dative in Classical Latin, in later prose, and frequently in poetical literature, due to Greek influence. *Haerere in* is the usual construction.[46] Augustine has the following instances of this dative in the Confessions: nisi cum eam tu agglutinas inter *haerentes sibi* caritate, Conf. 4, 4. nondum *haerens soliditati* veritatis, Conf. 4, 14.

Imponere, (to lay hands upon), e. g. *manum alicui rei,* is poetical. It is also found in Pliny the Elder. "To place something in something," in its literal sense, with the accusative, e. g. *milites in naves,* is Classical usage.[47] The following dative construction is found in the Confessions: qui proconsul manu sua coronam illam agnosticam *inposuerat* non sano *capiti meo,* Conf. 4, 3.

Inspirare (inspire, inflame) is a poetical and post-Augustan word and is followed by the accusative in the writers of that epoch. The dative is found in the Vulgate. Augustine uses the dative as follows: *inspira servis tuis, fratribus meis, filiis tuis, dominis meis,* Conf. 9, 13.

Supereminere (overtop, rise above), a poetical and post-Augustan word, governs the accusative in Vergil A. 1, 501; 6, 857; Ovid Tr. 1, 2, 49, and in late Latin.[48] Note the dative in our author: *partibus supereminens,* Conf. 7, 18.

The dative after *pecco* is ante-Classical and late Latin.[49] Note the dative in one passage in our author: quoniam *peccabat tibi,* Conf. 5, 10.

Classical Latinity uses *in* and the ablative or *in* with the accu-

[46] K. S. I, 645; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 317.
[47] K. S. I, 697; Goelzer (A) 74.
[48] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 271.
[49] K. S. II, 264.

sative after *dominor.*[50] Augustine has the dative in the following: *dominarer corpori,* Conf. 7, 7.

Verbs compounded with *con* are regularly followed by *cum,* rarely by the dative or accusative; *comparare* usually with *cum* and the ablative.[51] *Comparare* governs the dative in: *conparamus sibimet,* Conf. 11, 16. me *conparatum* eis oderam, Conf. 8, 7.

Excidere (to escape, remove) is followed by *de, ex* or *ab* in Classical diction.[52] Our author uses the dative in: tu scis, deus: nam *excidit mihi,* Conf. 4, 13.

Dimittere with *ab* or *ex* is the usual combination.[53] Our author has the dative thus: omnia *mihi dimissa esse* fateor, Conf. 2, 7. peccata . . . *dimisisti mihi,* Conf. 1, 15.

Abripere (take away, remove) is followed by *ab, de, ex* and the ablative in the Classical epoch. In post-Classical prose we find the dative in Pliny.[54] Augustine has the dative as follows: sed ille *abreptus dementiae meae,* Conf. 4, 4.

Cohaerere (cling together, cohere) governs *cum* and the ablative. In post-Augustan and late Latin the dative is used.[55] Our author employs the later Latin usage in: praegrandi affectu *tibi cohaerens,* . . . qui *tibi* pie *cohaerendo* ita sit affectus granditer, Conf. 1, 9.

2. Dative of Agent.

In all periods of Latinity the agent with the second periphrastic is put in the dative case. However, to avoid ambiguity, especially when the verb itself is followed by a dative, the ablative with *a* or *ab* may be used.[56] The following example from the Confessions has *ab* and the ablative where we would expect the dative: homo *ab homine damnandus esset* temeraria credulitate, Conf. 6, 9.

D. *Genitive Case.*

The relation of one noun to another is regularly expressed by the genitive case. Thus it is not infrequently termed the adjective

[50] K. S. I, 470; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 319.
[51] K. S. I, 399; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 330.
[52] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 367.
[53] K. S. I, 452.
[54] K. S. I, 51; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 370.
[55] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 327; K. S. I, 296.
[56] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 324; Gildersleeve-Lodge 227.

case to distinguish it from the ablative and dative which may be called adverbial cases. The original function of the genitive was to determine and qualify more strictly the meaning of a substantive. It is worthy of notice that the unlettered in Petronius made very little use of the genitive, their favorite cases being the dative and ablative. With them the partitive, possessive, and qualitative genitives alone are comparatively frequent.[57]

An extension of the syntax of the genitive case apparently grew out of the practical needs of early Christian philosophy and literature. It was certainly extended by the influence of the language of the Vulgate upon Christian and late Latin. In the following sections are presented such noteworthy deviations from the Classical use of the genitive as have been noted in the Confessions.

1. Genitive with Nouns.

a. Genitive of Quality or Description.

In later Latin texts the genitive of quality or description practically suppressed as it were the older ablative of quality. Classical diction did not use the genitive of quality without an adjective.[58] This genitive did not find its way into the literature before Apuleius. It was also used by Symmachus, Sulpicius Severus, Sidonius Apollinarius, etc.; e. g. *homo litterarum deus maiestatis.* Compare also the French "un homme de lettres." This genitive has its origin in a Hebrew idiom which was preserved in the Greek text of the Bible and thence transferred to the Latin. A great difficulty arises in attempting to distinguish the genitive of quality without the adjective, e. g. *populus perditionis,* from the appositional genitive, e. g. *pini arbore.*[59] As the extended use of both these genitives is due chiefly to Hebraic influence, this has led a number of writers[60] to combine both of them under the term "Hebrew Genitive." The term "Hebrew Genitive," however, belongs strictly to the descriptive or qualitative genitive, as being the distinctly Hebraic idiom. As the result of this confusion it seems best to avoid the term "Hebrew Genitive" entirely, and to

[57] S. S. 360.
[58] Salonius 84 ff.; S. S. 364; Draeger I, 462; Gabarrou 100 ff.
[59] Bonnet 551.
[60] Bayard 210.

keep the categories of descriptive and appositional genitives.[61] The following are representative examples of the descriptive genitive without an adjective found in the Confessions:

> fonte lactis, Conf. 1, 7. pestilentiae more, Conf. 2, 4. capita iniquitatis, Conf. 3, 8. interpretationis falsitate, Conf. 3, 11. voluptate cubilis et lecti, Conf. 4, 7. sensus carnis, Conf. 4, 10. soliditati veritatis, Conf. 4, 14. Superbiae vanitate, Conf. 5, 5. veritatem pietatis, Conf. 5, 7. deus misericordiarum, Conf. 5, 9. antistite pietatis, Conf. 6, 2. amicitiae benevolentia, Conf. 6, 7. oculus carnis, Conf. 6, 16. gens tenebrarum, Conf. 7, 2; 9, 4. plantarium amaritudinis, Conf. 7, 3. vultum pietatis, Conf. 7, 21. personae divitum, Conf. 8, 4. nepotibus carnis, Conf. 8, 12. imbrem lacrimarum, Conf. 8, 12. de melle caeli. Conf. 9, 4.

b. Appositional Genitive.

In all periods of the Latin language the so-called appositional genitive occurs. But in the Classical period it is confined chiefly to geographical nouns such as *flumen, lacus, regio, urbs,* etc. In Ecclesiastical Latin, under the tendency to widen the uses of the genitive case, we find little if any restriction in the employment of the appositional genitive. This extension of the appositional genitive, including a noun with a genitive of a synonym of that noun, marks an exceptional and striking element in the works of late Latin writers[62] and in many cases is probably due not so much to a disregard of Classical syntax, as to boldness in the use of metaphors. Striking examples of this late type of appositional genitive are the following, taken from Scripture: *canticum canticorum,* super *caelum caeli,* Ps. 67, 34; in *saeculum saeculi,* Ps. 9, 6; in *generationes generationum,* Is. 51, 8. It will be seen from the list below that Augustine makes a lavish use of the late appositional genitive, which is indeed characteristic of African writers.[63]

> fluctus temptationum, Conf. 1, 11. spectaculum vanitatis, Conf. 1, 13. vinum erroris, Conf. 1, 16. inania nugarum, Conf. 1, 17. abrupta cupiditatum, Conf. 2, 2. vepres libidinum, Conf. 2, 3. simplicitatis et innocentiae nomine, Conf. 2, 6. tartaro libidinis, Conf. 3, 1. vinculum fruendi, Conf. 3, 1. abyssus iudiciorum tuorum, Conf. 4, 4. amaritudine vitae, Conf. 4, 5. sarcina miseriae,

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[61] Salonius 87. [62] S. S. 262. [63] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 420.

Conf. 4, 7. tenebrae dolorum, Conf. 4, 9. aure cordis, Conf. 4, 11. regione mortis, Conf. 4, 12. os contemplationis, Conf. 4, 14. aetate annorum, Conf. 4, 15. nido ecclesiae tuae, Conf. 4, 16. de manu linguae meae, Conf. 5, 1. per inlecebram suaviloquentiae, Conf. 5, 3. dolorum flagello, Conf. 5, 8. foribus oculorum, Conf. 6, 8. veritatis ore, Conf. 6, 10. lumen honestatis et pulchritudinis, Conf. 6, 16. per spatia locorum, Conf. 7, 1. via humilitatis, Conf. 7, 9. inferum . . . erroris, Conf. 7, 3. solidamento pietatis, Conf. 7, 20. ex ore veritatis, Conf. 8, 1. fluxu consuetudinis, Conf. 8, 7. flagella timoris et pudoris, Conf. 8, 11. nugae nugarum, Conf. 8, 11. vanitates vanitatum, Conf. 8, 11. luce securitatis, Conf. 8, 12. dubitationis tenebrae, Conf. 8, 12. scabiem libidinum, Conf. 9, 1. suavitatibus nugarum, Conf. 9, 1. contradictionis flatus, Conf. 9, 2. abyssum corruptionis, Conf. 9, 1. nundinis loquacitatis, Conf. 9, 2. pestilentia peccatorum, Conf. 9, 9. plenitudine bonitatis, 9, 11. thesauro secreti, Conf. 9, 7. fluxum maeroris, Conf. 9, 12. fomento veritatis, 9, 12. vinculo fidei, Conf. 9, 12. manu cordis, Conf. 10, 8. negotium voluptatis, Conf. 10, 31. laqueus concupiscentiae, Conf. 10, 31. affectum pietatis, Conf. 10, 33. in flammam pietatis, Conf. 10, 33. abyssus aquarum, Conf. 12, 8. solidamentum auctoritatis, Conf. 13, 15. venenum curiositatis, Conf. 13, 21. magnalia mirabilium, Conf. 13, 21. fici arbore, Conf. 8, 12.

c. Genitive of the Whole.

The prepositions *de, ex,* sometimes *in,* very seldom *a* or *ab* with the ablative often assumed the functions of the partitive genitive in colloquial speech. This phenomenon became very conspicuous in writers of late and Ecclesiastical Latin. This construction continued on to the Romance languages. The change of cases was also due to the New Testament translation of Greek ἐξ, ἀπό, ἐν. This construction eventually crowded out the partitive genitive, particularly in many late writers.[64] The Confessions show traces of this usage in:

veritati commenda quidquid tibi est *a veritate,* Conf. 4, 11. quod tu, domine deus veritas, corpus esses lucidum et inmensum, et ego frustum *de illo corpore?* Conf. 4, 16. (An idea of separation is also inherent in this phrase.) et sacrificarent *de animalibus,* Conf. 3, 7. et insinuavi . . . pristinos errores meos et praesens votum meum, ut moneret, quid mihi potissimum *de libris tuis* legendum esset, Conf. 9, 5.

[64] S. S. 407; Salonius 89 ff.; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 425.

The partitive genitive after the adverb *nusquam* is found in Terence Ad. 540: Fratrem *nusquam* invenio *gentium.*[65] Note an instance from the Confessions: *nusquam locorum* es, Conf. 6, 3.

A possessive and objective genitive may be replaced by the possessive adjective, but not the partitive genitive. Augustine has the possessive adjective for the genitive of the whole in the following: ergo est aliqua pars *tua* maior aliqua minor? Conf. 1, 3.

2. Genitive with Adjectives.

The ablative after *plenus* is foreign to ante-Classical Latin except once in Plautus, Mer. 880 *splendore plenum.* The genitive after *plenus* is common in Classical Latin. On the whole, the ablative is rare, especially in Cicero and Caesar. The poets, post-Augustan and late writers use the ablative more freely but not as frequently as the genitive.[66] Augustine favors the ablative construction. In the De Civitate Dei the ablative after *plenus* is found in twenty-one, and the genitive, in thirteen passages,[67] while in the Confessions the ablative occurs twenty-four and the genitive only five times. The ablative after *plenus* appears in the following:

> quae *te plena* sunt, Conf. 1, 3. et terra et mare *plena fetibus*, Conf. 2, 6. *plena imaginibus* miseriarum mearum et *fomitibus*, Conf. 3, 2. Cf. also: 5, 5; 5, 7; 7, 1; 8, 1; 8, 11; 7, 20; 5, 8; 6, 1; 10, 35; 8, 6; 11, 3; 12, 6; 8, 6; 9, 2; 10, 35; 10, 28; 12, 30; 8, 3; 7, 5; 3, 1; 6, 2; 9, 9; 8, 11. Genitive after *plenus: plena fallaciarum* et *deceptionum*, Conf. 8, 2. quoniam *tui plenus* nondum sum, Conf. 10, 28. Cf. also 8, 2; 10, 10; 10, 17; 10, 28; 10, 40.

Curiosus was not followed by the genitive until the post-Augustan period.[68] Our author has this construction once thus: narravit patrem suum fuisse *librorum talium curiosissimum,* Conf. 7, 6.

3. Genitive with Special Verbs.

Our author seems to favor the later modes of expression with certain verbs. *Misereri* and *miserari* followed by the genitive are poetical and late Latin, e. g. Justinian 15, 3, 6 *miseratus tanti viri;*

[65] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 434.

[66] S. S. 366; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 441, 386; K. S. II, 309; Gildersleeve-Lodge 239.

[67] Colbert, 16 ff.

[68] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 436.

Minucius Felix Octav. 28, 3 *miserantes eorum.*[69] Augustine has: *miserebaris mei,* Conf. 5, 9.

Reminisci (be mindful of) is usually followed by the genitive. The accusative is mostly poetical. The accusative on the whole is very rare in the Classical period.[70] Our author has the accusative thus: *reminiscentis eas,* Conf. 10, 8.

Capere (contain, receive, hold) is very rarely used with the genitive. Tacitus has *captus animi,* H. 3, 73. Note the genitive in the following: quod *sui* non *capit,* Conf. 10, 8.

4. Ellipsis of the Genitive.

Orbis, meaning "globe of the earth," "world," without *terrae* or *terrarum* is almost entirely poetical, and is not found in prose until the Augustan period, e. g. in Vellius, Tacitus, Curtius, Florus and Justinian. In the prose of the Classical period the complete expression, *orbis terrarum,* is regularly used, e. g. Cic. Cat. 1, 9 qui de huius *orbis terrarum* exitio cogitent.[71] Augustine usually employs the later form of this expression, which omits *terrarum,* thus:

> et accendebar eos recitare, si possem, toto *orbi terrarum,* adversum typhum generis humani! et tamen toto *orbe* cantantur, Conf. 9, 4. culmen auctoritatis Christianae fidei toto *orbe* diffunditur, Conf. 6, 11. et per cetera *orbis* imitantibus, Conf. 9, 7. et per universum *orbem* tanto auctoritatis culmine, Conf. 12, 26.

In Classical Latin the substantive *reconciliatio,* in the sense of "reconciliation," usually takes the genitive *gratiae.* Augustine omits the *gratiae* in: et defensorem resistentem *reconciliationi* tuae defendendo peccata sua, Conf. 13, 15.

E. *Ablative Case.*

Originally, in meaning and partly in form, the ablative included three cases, i. e. the ablative proper, the locative, and the instrumental. Since these three cases were not wholly distinct in meaning, a confusion soon arose, due to the development of meanings that approached each other and to phonetic change which soon merged them into one form. The dative, the genitive, or a prepo-

[69] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 470.
[70] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 471; K. S. II, 498.
[71] K. S. II, 225.

sitional phrase does service for the ablative in Greek, and Greek in turn exerted some influence on the syntax of the ablative case in Latin. However this may be, the uses of the ablative case were greatly extended in late Latin and deviations from Classical norms gradually became of considerable importance. Some of the anomalies that arose in the later periods had already appeared in Classical Latin, but by exception.[72] Something of the late development of the use of the ablative in Latin may be seen from the following treatment of its use in the Confessions.

1. Ablative of Manner.

As a rule the ablative of manner has an attribute. If it is not modified by an adjective, it must be accompanied by the preposition *cum,* e. g. *cum intelligentia, cum fide,* but with the adjective, *maxima corona, celeritate mirabili.* The ablative of manner without the attribute is confined to a certain number of expressions, which can not be clearly defined, but can be easily explained as causal, instrumental, etc.[73] The following examples of *cum* and the adjective are from the Confessions: *cum timore magno* supplicatur, Conf. 1, 9. ut monuerit *cum sollicitudine ingenti,* Conf. 2, 3. These two examples, however, represent a small proportion of all examples of this construction, probably no greater than can be found in an equal amount of Cicero.

2. Ablative of Place Where.

In Classical prose the use of the ablative of place where without *in* is confined to a few special words, chiefly, *terra, mari, loco, locis, parte.* In Cicero's time we observe the omission of *in* when an adjective is employed, even in words other than those given above. This tendency becomes more marked in Livy and is particularly common in later Latin. The poets readily sacrifice syntax for meter in this respect.[74] The following examples of this ablative without a preposition occur in the Confessions:

cordis mei *auribus*, Conf. 4, 15. feretro cogitationis, Conf. 6, 1.

[72] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 346 ff.
[73] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 408 ff.; S. S. 379.
[74] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 350 ff.

volvebam *pectore misero,* Conf. 7, 5. (This phrase savors of Vergil.) simul eramus, simul habitaturi *placito sancto,* Conf. 9, 8.

3. Ablative with Special Verbs.

Scaturire (to gush out of) with *ex* and the ablative is found only in Augustine's Confessions, in the following passage:[75] et ista consideratio *scaturriit* in animo meo *ex intimo corde meo,* Conf. 4, 13.

4. Locative Case.

Domus, in ante-Classical and Classical prose, is accompanied by a preposition only under special circumstances: e. g. to indicate "nearness," "immediate surroundings" with *longe a* or *abesse a;* thus, Cic. Rep. 2, 7 rapiuntur *a domo longius* (in the sense of "family" or in speaking of *domus* as a building). But in the signification of "in my house," "in the house of *Cicero,*" the regular construction is *domi meae, domi Ciceronis,* without the preposition.[76] In the Classical period the following would have been expressed by the locative:

aut *in una domo* videat aliquid tractari, Conf. 3, 7. et habere mecum eandem mensam *in domo?* Conf. 3, 11. Qui habitare facis unanimes *in domo,* Conf. 9, 8. *in domo* Christiana satis a dominis honorabatur, Conf. 9, 8. regimen unici tui *in domo* fideli, Conf. 9, 8. *in* cuius *domo* aegrotaveram et convalueram, Conf. 9, 8.

In this use of *in domo* for *domi* Augustine is undoubtedly influenced by Scripture.

[75] F. F.

[76] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 482 ff.; K. S. I, 473.

CHAPTER II.

Prepositions.

An abundant use of prepositions is one of the very striking features of late and especially Ecclesiastical Latin. Originally prepositions and adverbs were not distinguished in meaning and form but they became specialized in use. In the history of the language their development is comparatively late. Where Classical authors tended to express a certain relationship by a certain case, an author of the late Latin epoch preferred often to employ a preposition construed with the same or even a different case. There are definite reasons for this preference. They wished to utter their expressions with greater force or to express unusual ideas which could not be effected by the case alone. Thus the comic poets had already made use of prepositions and paved the way, as it were, for a movement in the language which tended more and more toward analytic expression of thought. This movement was interrupted during the Classical period but manifested itself again quite noticeably after the Augustan age. It was even more in evidence in the African Latin of Hadrian's time, and in the time of Cyprian and Arnobius. Later this tendency caused confusion even among the learned, and finally brought about a complete abandonment of case endings which were after all performing an unnecessary service.[1] Some of the outstanding peculiarities of prepositions in Ecclesiastical Latin as found in the Confessions are as follows.

I. *With the Accusative.*

1. *Ad.*

The most common use of *ad* is after verbs of motion in the sense of "to," "toward," but already in the Classical period *ad* took on other significations which, however, became more extensive in the post-Classical and late Latin periods. In the langauge of the people the preposition *ad* had a far more extensive use than in the speech

[1] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 488; Goelzer (J) 327; Gabarrou 109.

of the educated. In colloquial speech we often find *ad* and the accusative where the lettered would employ the dative case. A tendency to use *ad* and the accusative for the dative was felt quite early. In late Latin this usage is frequent, e. g. Commodian A. 36 cur nos simillimus *ad illas* (for *illis*), and passing over into the Romance languages we find *ad* and the accusative generally taking over the functions of the dative.

Classical Latin presents many instances of *ad* with a noun to express purpose. However, the frequency of this usage is an outstanding feature of late and Christian Latin.[2] There are numerous instances in the Confessions. Examples:

> quia fecisti nos *ad te*, Conf. 1, 1. tanto post futurum, *ad consolationem* tunc praesentis solicitudinis tanto ante praedictum est, Conf. 3, 11. aliquid agis *ad* animarum *salutem*, Conf. 9, 8. Cf. also 5, 9; (5, 10) 3 times; 7, 19 passim.

Ad in the sense of "near" for *apud*[3] or *coram* is exemplified in the following: et permanebunt *ad* semper stantem ac permanentem *deum*, Conf. 4, 11.

Intromittere is followed by *in* and the accusative in Classical Latin. *Ad* with the accusative is ante and post-Classical usage. Augustine uses this non-Classical construction thus: istae quippe res non *intromittuntur ad eam* (let into the memory), Conf. 10, 9.

Intrare in its literal sense is followed by *in* and the accusative or the accusative alone. Figuratively it is used only with *in* and the accusative. Our author has *ad* and the accusative thus:

> quae unde *ad me intraverint* dicant, si possunt, Conf. 10, 10. quae omnia suis quaeque foribus *intrant ad eam* et reponuntur in ea, Conf. 10, 8. et intravi *ad* ipsius animi mei *sedem* . . . nec ibi tu eras, Conf. 10, 25.

Expectare is construed with the accusative alone in Classical Latin. *Ad* and the accusative is late Latin. Augustine uses the preposition *ad* and the accusative after *expectare* as follows: *ad te expectantium*, Conf. 6, 10.

It may be noted here that *quantum ad me attinet* (how much it concerns me) is Silver and late Latin usage. The Classical idiom is *quod ad me attinet*. The *attinet* is often omitted, which indicates

[2] S. S. 395. [3] Grandgent 39 ff.

that the expression belongs to colloquial speech and is a forerunner of the French *quant à.*[4] This late idiom is found once in the Confessions: *quantum enim adtinet ad* oblivionis meae *tenebras,* Conf. 1, 7.

2. *Per.*

In Classical Latin *per* (through, during) indicates motion in time and space. From its spatial signification developed its instrumental use; and from its instrumental, the modal, causal, and limiting use. *Per* with the accusative to express means or instrument when pertaining to material things is analogous to the later Greek usage of δία with the genitive, e. g., Diod. 17, 115 κατεσκεύαζεν εἴδωλα δι' ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ.[5] Instrumental *per* is found in Sallust, Augustan poets, Livy, Tacitus, and the archaists. In late Latin the usage of *per* with the accusative becomes synonymous with the ablative, e. g. Jerome Ep. 58, 3 si loca sancta *per* idola polluissent. Causal *per* is seldom found in Classical Latin, e. g. *per amorem, per metum,* etc., but it is surprisingly frequent in the late Latin period, e. g. Gregor. of Tours H. F. 2, 3 virtutem dei inridere *per pecuniam.*[6] Instrumental *per,* or *per* expressing means, occurs frequently in the D. C. D. of St. Augustine.[7] There are approximately 170 instances of *per* with the accusative to express means in the Confessions. Examples:

> ut *per* amicitiae *sinceritatem* non esset aliud huius et aliud illius, Conf. 6, 4. ut impatiens essem, donec mihi *per interiorem aspectum* certus esses, Conf. 7, 8. a corde amantium et redamantium procedentibus, *per os, per linguam, per oculos,* et mille *motus* gratissimos, Conf. 4, 8. invocat te, domine, fides mea . . . quam inspirasti mihi *per humanitatem* filii tui, *per ministerium* praedicatoris tui, Conf. 1, 1. et sanguine cordis matris meae *per lacrimas* eius diebus et noctibus pro me sacrificabatur tibi, Conf. 5, 7. cum Paulus pro consule, *per* eius *militiam* debellata superbia, Conf. 8, 4. quae mihi *per baptismum* tuum remissa nondum erant, Conf. 9, 4. si quid eodem perversae scientiae fine *per artes* magicas quaeritur, Conf. 10, 35. Cf. also 1, 16; 3, 4; 6, 12; 7, 7 passim.

Not until the Silver Age do we meet causal and instrumental *per* with neuter demonstrative and relative pronouns, e. g. *per hoc, per haec, per illud, per id quod,* and in late Latin such forms occur

[4] K. S. II, 445.
[5] Kühner-Blass-Gerth II, 1, 483 d.
[6] S. S. 405; Draeger I, 602 ff.
[7] Colbert 79.

very frequently [8]; e. g. Pliny Ep. 8, 10, 1 *per hoc* quaedam omittit, and Ep. 10, 56, 5 *per quod* effectum est. Phrases like *per hoc* in the sense of "because of this" and *ac per hoc*, "and because of this," occur also in Quintilian 2, 17, 30; Florus, 3, 12, 9; Apuleius Met. 9, 16, and Cyprian 7, 29, 14. However, *ac per hoc* seems to be almost entirely late Latin usage.[9] From this special use of *per* with *hoc* the preposition *per* came to be used generally with other nouns in the sense of "because of," e. g. Arnobius IV, 15 *per vos ipsos* . . . efficitur, ut haesitet religio conturbata. Note *per* with neuter demonstrative and relative pronouns thus:

edomito in eis signis ore,*per haec* enuntiabam, Conf. 1, 8. in verbo enim tuo, *per quod* creantur, Conf. 4, 10. verbum tuum, *per quod* fecisti ea quae numerant, Conf. 5, 3. ex illo ergo, quod nondum est, *per illud*, quod spatio caret, Conf. 11, 21.

Examples of *ac per hoc* from the Confessions:

Ac per hoc student perversissima caecitate etiam tibi tribuere quae sua sunt, Conf. 5, 3. nam esset aequale unigenito tuo, *ac per hoc* et tibi, Conf. 12, 7. *ac per hoc*, si quis quaerit ex me, quid horum Moyses, Conf. 12, 30. *ac per hoc* audiet invitus, Conf. 12, 29. Cf. also Conf. 12, 17; 12, 29; 13, 21; 13, 8.

Such prepositional phrases as *per se* are uncommon in Cicero and Caesar, but very frequent in Livy. These phrases have their origin in popular speech. The fact that such expressions were taken over into the Romance languages is sufficient proof of this.[10] Examples of the expression *per se* in St. Augustine's Confessions are as follows:

per se ipsa intus cernimus, Conf. 10, 11. num et ipsa per imaginem suam sibi adest ac non *per se* ipsam, Conf. 10, 15. *per se* ipsam sibi praesto est ipsa memoria, Conf. 10, 16. si *per se* ipsam praesto esset oblivio, Conf. 10, 16.

3. *Praeter.*

It is only in late Latin that we meet with *praeter* as the equivalent of *sine*. Thus in Vit. Pachom. 30 we read: cadauer efferri

[8] S. S. 405; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 557; Draeger I, 608; Juret (2) 86.

[9] Bonnet 590 ff. Cf. R. B. Steele, Servius and the Scolia of *Daniel*, in American Journal of Philology 1899, Vol. XX, 376; Souter (1) 74.

[10] Draeger I, 70; Salonius 265 ff.

iussit ac *praeter aliquam psalmodiam* sepeliri.[11] Augustine has *praeter* for *sine* as follows:

> si *praeter memoriam meam* te invenio, immemor tui sum, Conf. 10, 17. et ecce memoriae meae vis non conprehenditur a me, cum ipsum me non dicam *praeter illam*, Conf. 10, 16. hoc tantum scio, quia male mihi est *praeter te*, Conf. 13, 8.

4. *Post.*

Final *post*, corresponding to the Greek μετά, does not appear until the late Latin epoch, e. g. in Fulgentius and Apuleius.[12] Furthermore, *post te ire*, in a metaphorical sense, is a Hebraism introduced by the Biblical versions.[13] Note the following examples from the Confessions:

> curram *post vocem hanc* et adprehendam te, Conf. 1, 5. ite *post eum* et confundite fortia ite *post eum*, speciosi pedes, Conf. 13, 19. non currebamus *post te*, Conf. 9, 7. me conantem *post te ire?* Conf. 8, 7.

5. *Apud.*

Apud is used with names of towns, countries, and islands with the force of the locative case. This occurs in Plautus. Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust do not use this construction, but in the Annals of Tacitus *apud* is often used with names of towns. Tacitus influenced later authors in this regard.[14] Augustine uses *apud* with names of towns with a locative sense as follows:

> Contra *apud Carthaginem* foeda est et intemperans licentia scholasticorum, Conf. 5, 8. et disserentis sermones etiam *apud Carthaginem* movere me coeperant, Conf. 5, 11. cum adhuc studeret iam me audiens *apud Carthaginem*, Conf. 6, 9. et cum *apud Ostia* Tiberina essemus, mater defuncta est, Conf. 9, 8. dum mihi reducto a Madauris . . . longuinquioris *apud Carthaginem* peregrinationis sumptus parabantur, Conf. 2, 3.

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[11] Cf. Otto Schlutter, Addenda Lexicis Latinis, in Archiv. für Lateinische Lexicographie vol. XI, 1900 p. 427.

[12] S. S. 397.

[13] Gibb and Montgomery 221.

[14] S. S. 395; K. S. I, 190; Koffmane 142; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 524 ff.; Draeger I, 585.

II. *With the Ablative.*

1. *A* or *Ab.*

A free use of the preposition *a* or *ab* is another striking characteristic of late Latin. This extended use is due to the influence of analogy and of popular and poetic language. After a passive verb Classical Latin uses *a* or *ab* and the ablative to indicate the agent when it is a person or thing personified. The ablative of the personal agent really denotes source of an action, and in a broader sense, cause and even means of an action, and hence it is not surprising to meet *a* or *ab* with the ablative in late Latin for the simple ablatives of means and cause.[15] Note *a* or *ab* with the ablative to express means in the following:

> dummodo essem disertus vel desertus potius *a cultura tua*, deus, Conf. 2, 3. qui compressisti *a timore tuo* superbiam meam, Conf. 10, 36. neque mihi creabantur *a veritate tua*, sed *a mea vanitate* fingebantur ex corpore, Conf. 4, 15.

The following examples of *a* or *ab* with the ablative of inanimate things to express agency are partially justified by a more or less pronounced notion of personification. Inde retribuet eis, ut, qui se *ab ea* manifestari nolunt, et eos nolentes manifestet et eis ipsa non sit manifesta, Conf. 10, 23. et reliquias tenebrarum mearum, quousque devoretur *a fortitudine* infirmitas, Conf. 11, 2.

Ab with the ablative to express cause is principally poetic usage, e. g. in Lucretius, Horace, and Propertius. In prose it is found in Varro and Livy. This usage has its origin in colloquial speech.[16] The following is an instance from the Confessions: et plorare Didonem mortuam, quia se occidit *ab amore*, Conf. 1, 13.

The preposition is omitted with the name of a town in an ablative of "place from which." Augustine uses the preposition in the following: dum mihi reducto *a Madauris* . . . longuinquioris apud Carthaginem peregrinationis sumptus parabantur, Conf. 2, 3.

In the following, *ab illo* expresses personal agent after a verb not in the passive voice. *Ab illo* is probably used for *per illum:* aut timuit *ab illo* tale aliquid amittere, Conf. 2, 5.

[15] S. S. 406 ff.; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 496.
[16] S. S. 406.

2. *De.*

De is apparently the favorite preposition of all late Latin authors. The meaning of *de* is similar to that of *a* and *ex,* and as a consequence it took over many of the uses of *a* and *ex* to express cause, means, origin, manner, etc. In fact *de* almost entirely replaces *ex* and *a* or *ab* in late Latin, so much so that *ex* and *a* or *ab* entirely disappeared in the Romance languages.[17]

Ab, de and *ex* expressing distance from an object are distinguished as follows: *Ab* simply indicates the separation, departure from an object, with the meaning "from"; *de* the separation from something essentially united, with the meaning "away from"; and *ex* the separation from the interior of an object or thing, with the meaning "out of." *Ex* comes closest in meaning to the preposition *de,* and hence either *de* or *ex* may be used in a similar sense in many combinations. Cf. primordia agendi *a deo* capiamus (from God); exemplum capio *de aliquo* (away from); exemplum capio ex aliquo (source here, as it were "out of," "out from" a source).

De with the ablative is often used for the simple ablative to express cause. This is also poetical and colloquial usage, but is particularly characteristic of late Latin.[18] Examples from the Confessions are:

> et fiducia mea, deus meus, gratias tibi *de donis* tuis, Conf. 1, 20. sed iam etiam *de solis istis* laudare te deberem, Conf. 7, 13. *de quibus* me gavisum esse memini, Conf. 10, 21. nam et *de turpibus* gaudio quodam perfusus sum, Conf. 10, 21. saepe mihi videor *de provectu* aut *spe* proximi delectari, Conf. 10, 37.

De with the ablative to express means is found in Ovid, Apuleius, Min. Felix, often in Tertullian, Lactantius, and throughout late Latin.[19] Instrumental *de* appears in the Confessions as follows:

> et nesciebat, quid tu illi gaudiorum facturus esses *de absentia mea,* Conf. 5, 8. exclusus et a siliquis porcorum, quos de siliquis pascebam, Conf. 3, 6. candoremque eius obnubilabam *de tartaro* libidi-

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[17] S. S. 408; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 497; Leky 28; Kaulen 203; Regnier 53; Grandgent 39; Guillemin 20, 54.

[18] Gabarrou 122 ff.; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 498; Svennung 32; Juret (2) 97.

[19] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 501; S. S. 408; Salonius 105; Draeger 630; Juret (2) 97.

nis, Conf. 3, 1. quia *de spiritu* eius haec dicis eis, si dicis ardens igne caritatis, Conf. 4, 12. et occidit eam *de abundantia* vitae suae, Conf. 4, 12. temptata est quoque eius indoles, non solum *de inlecebra* cupiditatis sed etiam stimulo timoris, Conf. 6, 10. Cf. also 7, 9; 9, 4; 10, 20; 12, 14.

Augustine seems to be extremely fond of using *de* for *ex* with the ablative of separation. He makes a lavish use of this feature of syntax in the Confessions. Examples:

et nunc erues *de hoc inmanissimo profundo* quaerentem te animam, Conf. 1, 18. et *de hac profunda caligine* eruisti animam meam, 3, 11. haec nomina non recedebant *de ore* eorum, Conf. 3, 6. misceret visceribus, et anhelaret *de illa* angelos, Conf. 3, 10. ecce abstulisti hominem *de hac vita*, Conf. 4, 4. *de quibus* nobis in officina aquaeductuli sui fabricarent angelos, Conf. 4, 1. et tamen fugi *de patria*, Conf. 4, 7. Cf. also 4, 5; 5, 9; 5, 10; 6, 2; 6, 6; 6, 7; 6, 16; 7, 2; 7, 6; 7, 7; 7, 19; 8, 2; 9, 2 passim.

De often takes over the special meaning of *ex* to denote source, origin of a person or of thing or of their names; e. g. Jerome, Paulus, apostolus *de tribu* Benjamin; Suetonius Octav. 17, 1 *de Cleopatra* liberis. This occurs in poetry, sometimes in Silver Latin, occasionally in the Classical period, but the frequency of this usage is significant of the late Latin epoch.[20] Augustine contributes the following from the Confessions:

inferioribus autem aedificavit sibi humilem domum *de limo nostro*, Conf. 7, 18. talem itaque naturam eius nasci non posse *de Maria virgine* arbitrabar, Conf. 5, 10. quod est tua sapientia *de te* nata, Conf. 13, 5. *de ipsa substantia* dei ex nihilo cuncta facta sunt, Conf. 12, 17. oriatur *de terra* veritas, Conf. 13, 18. Cf. also 1, 19; 2, 2; 6, 3; 10, 18; 11, 5; 12, 7; 12, 8; 12, 19; 12, 25; 12, 29; 13, 16; 13, 18; 13, 24; 13, 29; 13, 33.

De with the ablative is apparently used for *per* with accusative to express means involving a person, in the following:[21]

plus autem superbos tenet nomine nobilitatis, et *de his* plures nomine auctoritatis, Conf. 8, 4. plus enim hostis vincitur in eo, quem plus tenet et *de quo* plures tenet, Conf. 8, 4. qui placent sibi *de se*, Conf. 10, 39. (anima) se satiare *de se* non potest, Conf. 13, 16. qui loquitur mendacium *de suo* loquitur, Conf. 12, 25.

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[20] Gabarrou 123; S. S. 407; Draeger 627; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 499; Guillemin 29 ff.

[21] Guillemin 58.

As a rule in Classical Latin the ablative of "place whence" takes the prepositions *ex* meaning "out of," *de* meaning "down from" and *ab* meaning "off." Among Classical authors the preposition is usually employed in local relations and omitted in metaphorical relations, but there are some exceptions.[22] There is a confusion in the use of these prepositions with ablative of "place whence" in the Confessions. Augustine like all late writers exhibits his fondness for the preposition *de* in the examples which follow. Furthermore, since they are all figurative passages the preposition would ordinarily be omitted in Classical prose.[23]

> non enim et illa, quae iam *de medio Babylonis* fugerat, Conf. 2, 3. qui miserationes tuas non considerat, quae tibi *de medullis meis* confitentur, Conf. 6, 7. confiteantur etiam hinc tibi *de intimis visceribus* animae meae miserationes tuas, deus meus, Conf. 7, 6. neque enim exudavit *de corde meo* maeroris amaritudo, Conf. 9, 12. et hymnus et fletus ascendant in conspectum tuum *de fraternis cordibus*, turibulis tuis, Conf. 10, 4. forte ergo sicut *de ventre* cibus ruminando, sic ista *de memoria* recordando proferuntur, Conf. 10, 14. et audi clamantem *de profundo*, Conf. 11, 2. Cf. also Conf. 9, 1; (13, 21) twice; 13, 23.

With the Classicists and otherwise as a rule *eruere* is followed by *ex*.[24] Augustine has *de* thus: quaedam requiruntur diutius et tamquam *de* abstrusioribus quibusdam receptaculis eruuntur, Conf. 10, 8. Cf. also 1, 18; 3, 11.

3. *E* or *Ex*.

On the whole, the preposition *ex* became more restricted in later Latin on account of the more extended use of *a* or *ab* and *de*. Some authors employed it oftener than others. In Arnobius it is frequent; in Cyprian relatively rare. Instrumental *e* or *ex* to express means belongs to late Latin, e. g. Arnobius II, 17 *e saxis* et *rupibus* tegere et communire suspensis.[25] Note *ex* and the ablative to express means in the Confessions:

> hoc autem eos velle, *ex motu* corporis aperiabatur, Conf. 1, 8. videbat enim illa mortem meam *ex fide* et *spiritu*, quem habebat ex te, Conf. 3, 11. si placent corpora, deum *ex illis* lauda, Conf. 4, 12.

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[22] Gildersleeve-Lodge 249.

[23] Guillemin 16 ff.

[24] Draeger I, 512. [25] S. S. 408; Gabarrou 124; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 505.

The ablative of the personal agent after a passive verb is usually expressed by *a* or *ab* and the ablative in Classical norms. Augustine offers instances with *ex*. The idea of cause, however, is also evident in these phrases. Furthermore, *ex* with the ablative to express cause for the ablative alone is characteristic of colloquial speech and found in the poets, Livy, and late prose.[26] Examples of this use of *e* or *ex* with the ablative are: sed adhuc tenaciter alligabar *ex femina,* nec me prohibebat apostolus coniugari, Conf. 8, 1. quia fervefaciunt se et inflammantur *ex alterutro,* Conf. 8, 4.

Ex quo for *ex quo tempore* is not Classical. It does not appear until Livy.[27] Augustine offers an instance of temporal *ex quo* thus: nam ex quo didici te, non sum oblitus tui, Conf. 10, 24.

In the following passage *ex tempore* seems to be used in the sense of "temporal."[28] et tamen facis et visiones temporales et ipsa tempora et quietem *ex tempore,* Conf. 13, 37.

4. *Pro.*

Pro denotes purpose, but in Classical Latin only with verbs like *orare, rogare,* etc. In late Latin final *pro* appears also with other verbs.[29] This construction is exemplified in the Confessions thus: figura decorasti, *pro*que eius *universitate* atque *incolumitate* omnes conatus animantis insinuasti, Conf. 1, 7. plus etiam quam unum pocillum *pro suo palato* satis sobrio temparatum, Conf. 6, 2.

The proper Classical forms for "now," "at that time," "then" are *nunc, in praesentia, hoc tempore,* and not *pro tempore* which is late Latin.[30] Note the late Latin usage in: etiamsi hoc aliquando vetuisti, quamvis causam imperii tui *pro tempore* occultes, Conf. 3, 9.

The construction *aliquem rogare pro aliquo* occurs in Ovid and in post-Classical Latin in Phaedrus, Suetonius, etc.[31] This, too, occurs in the Confessions, thus: tantum *roga pro eo dominum,* Conf. 3, 12.

5. *Prae.*

Prae, "before," "in advance of," "in front of" is sometimes used for *propter* in Classical prose to give the cause or reason of

[26] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 495.
[27] K. S. I, 485.
[28] Gibb and Montgomery 448.
[29] Gabarrou 125; S. S. 410.
[30] K. S. II, 384.
[31] K. S. II, 520.

anything, but only of a hindrance, with an expressed or implied negation. In Cicero and Caesar *prae* for *propter* occurs only in negative sentences, e. g. Cicero Mil. 38 neque enim *prae lacrimis* iam loqui possum.[32] In accordance with late Latin usage Augustine uses *prae* for *propter* in positive sentences and with no idea of hindrance thus:

> de quibus etiam vera dicentes philosophos transgredi debui *prae amore tuo*, mi pater summe bone, Conf. 3, 6. conspirant multi adulescentes et transferunt se ad alium, desertores fidei et quibus *prae* pecuniae *caritate* iustitia vilis est, Conf. 5, 12. iam enim me illa non delectabant, *prae dulcedine tua* et decore domus tuae, quam dilexi, Conf. 8, 1. nam longi et multi videbantur, *prae amore* libertatis otiosae, Conf. 9, 3.

Prae with the ablative after a comparative for *quam* or with the ablative alone is ante-Classical, Silver, and late Latin usage.[33] This variation from the strictly Classical usage is found twice in our treatise after a comparative and twice with the ablative alone as follows:

> nondum Christianus, coniugi fideli, ea tamen ipsa *artiore prae ceteris* conpede ab itinere . . . retardabatur, Conf. 9, 3. quod *prae ceteris* evangelii vocationisque gentium sit praenuntiator *apertior*, Conf. 9, 5. quid mihi recitanti adclamabatur *prae multis* coaetaneis et conlectoribus meis? Conf. 1, 17. Itaque avidissime arripui venerabilem stilum spiritus tui, et *prae ceteris* apostolum Paulum, Conf. 7, 21.

As early as Plautus we find the ablative of the gerundive depending upon the prepositions *in, de, ex, pro.* Caesar used *de* and *in;* Cicero and Livy *in, de, ex, pro,* sometimes *ab;* Horace and Tacitus, *super;* and Porphyry *prae.*[34] *Prae* with the ablative of the gerundive is late Latin. Augustine has the following example of *prae* with the ablative of the gerundive in the sense, noted above, of "in comparison with": ad exemplum contemnendorum temporalium *prae adipiscenda immortalitate,* Conf. 7, 19.

6. *Coram.*

Coram was not used as a preposition until Cicero's time. But even Cicero, Nepos, Sallust, and Pliny seldom use it as a preposi-

[32] Draeger I, 641; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 513.
[33] K. S. II, 343; Salonius 188. [34] S. S. 449.

tion, although frequently as an adverb. Tacitus is somewhat partial to *coram,* using it twenty times; seventeen of which appear in the Annals. Draeger [35] says that there are only a few instances of *coram* used as a preposition in Silver and late Latin. Augustine uses the word quite frequently as a preposition in the Confessions. Examples:

> quoniam nemo mundus a peccato *coram te,* Conf. 1, 7. conputrui *coram oculis tuis,* Conf. 2, 1. quae *coram sensibus meis* non adessent, Conf. 6, 4. Cf. also 2, 1; 2, 9; 5, 6; 6, 7; 9, 2; 9, 4; 10, 4, passim.

III. *Prepositions with the Accusative and Ablative.*

1. *Accusative.*

a. *In.*

In Classical Latin we rarely see *in* with the accusative to express purpose. *Ad* with the accusative is Classical usage. These exceptional uses of *in* are frequent in Tacitus and thereafter. Final *in* is met with in the pre-Classical period and also in the poets.[36] The following have been gleaned from the Confessions:

> et *in tuam invocationem* rumpebam nodos linguae meae, Conf. 1, 9. te, domine Jesu, confitens *in remissionem* peccatorum, Conf. 1, 11. ecce dedisti nobis *in escam* omne faenum sativum seminans semen, Conf. 13, 25.

Usque in and *usque ad* in the sense of "until" or "to" are Silver Latin and poetical usages; e. g. Quintilian *usque in senectutem.*[37] Example of temporal *usque in* and *usque ad* in the same sentence from the Confessions is: ab initio *usque in finem* saeculorum, ab angelo *usque ad* vermiculum, Conf. 8, 3. For *usque ad,* cf. also 9, 6; 11, 23.

Note also the following with *usque in:*

> nos autem *usque in illam horam* latebat, Conf. 8, 6. donec reficiatur defectus meus et perficiatur *usque in pacem,* quam nescit arrogantis oculus, Conf. 10, 38. si ab ortu solis *usque in ortum* alterum tam brevis mora esset, Conf. 11, 23.

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[35] Draeger I, 645.

[36] S. S. 412; Leky 29.

[37] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 565; Draeger I, 598; K. S. II, 699.

In a figurative sense local *in* is frequently used for *ad* in the Silver Latin epoch.[38] An illustration from the Confessions of local *in* for *ad* after a verb of motion is: sublevabat enim me *in lucem tuam,* quod tam sciebam me habere voluntatem quam me vivere, Conf. 7, 3.

The following variations from Classical norms of the preposition *in* are worthy of consideration:

Credere followed by the dative is Classical usage. *Credere* with *in* and the accusative of the person in the sense of "to believe in," "to trust in" is commonly used in Ecclesiastical writers.[39] Several instances of this Christian Latin usage have been found in the Confessions as follows, but usually under the influence of Scripture: e. g. quomodo autem invocabunt, *in quem* non *crediderunt,* Conf. 1, 1. et invocem te *credens in te,* Conf. 1, 1.

Sperare meaning "to hope in" with *in* and the accusative, on the analogy with *credere,* is likewise Ecclesiastical Latin usage.[40] The following two instances occur in the Confessions: et si dicebam: "*spera in deum,*" Conf. 4, 4. *Sperantes in Christum,* Conf. 4, 4.

Classical authors employ an infinitive or the ablative after *gestire.*[41] Augustine uses *in* with the accusative as follows: et inquieta indutum adulescentia, quasi iam ex hoc *in nepotes gestiret,* Conf. 2, 3. *In* and the accusative after *infundere* is Classical. The dative as in the instance below is poetical and post-Classical Latin.[42] sive *infusum mundo* sive etiam extra mundum per infinita diffusum, Conf. 7, 1.

Crescere is followed by the ablative in Classical prose. Our author uses *in* and the accusative once, thus: sed *in dedecus meum creveram,* Conf. 5, 9.

In aliquid exardescere is not Classical. The ablative, or *ad* with the accusative, is the Classical construction.[43] The Confessions show an instance of *in* with the accusative: tetigisti me, et *exarsi in pacem tuam,* Conf. 10, 27.

Attendere takes the accusative or *ad* and the accusative in

[38] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 566.
[39] T. L. L. vol. IV, p. 1149, 1, 27 ff.
[40] F. F.
[41] S. S. 422; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 396, 667.
[42] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 322. [43] K. S. I, 533.

Classical Latin, but in the sense of "to pay attention to something" without *animum,* as in the passage which follows, the accusative alone is Classical.[44] Augustine has *in* and the accusative thus: et non *adtendi in idola Aegyptiorum,* Conf. 7, 9.

In the post-Classical period, e. g. in Vellius, Seneca, and frequently in Tacitus, we meet *in* followed by neuter adjectives, e. g. *in quantum, in tantum,* etc., for *quantum, tantum.*[45] There are parallel instances in Augustine thus: quoniam *in quantum* quidque non est quod erat et est quod non erat, *in tantum* moritur et oritur, Conf. 11, 7. et cum *in tantum* ingravesceret, Conf. 9, 4.

In te is apparently used for *apud te* in the following: cuius etiam capillos tu, domine, numeratos habes et non minuuntur *in te,* Conf. 4, 14.

b. Super.

The phrase *super omnia* "above all," "before all," is a poetical expression.[46] The following instance appears in the Confessions: cum tu sis unus *super omnia,* Conf. 2, 6.

In the poets, and in post-Classical Latin from Sallust on into the late Latin period, we meet *super* in the sense of *praeter* (beyond).[47] This too is exemplified in our treatise as follows: cum vix explevisset annum in amicitia mea, suavi mihi *super omnes suavitates* illius vitae meae, Conf. 4, 4.

2. *Ablative.*

a. *In.*

In Ecclesiastical Latin the ablative with *in* is often used for the ablative of means and cause. This occurs as early as Propertius, but not again in literature until late Latin. What was considered as means and manner in which a thing was accomplished became a simple circumstance in which it was brought about. The Hebrew idiom, imprinted on the language of the Latin Bible, contributed much to this development. Note the following examples from the Latin Bible: Gen. 13, 2 Dives *in possessione* auri; Eph. 2, 4 Dives *in misericordia.* The origin of this usage in Latin probably is in phrases like the following, where *in* with the abla-

[44] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 270; K. S. I, 213.
[45] K. S. I, 702; S. S. 413.
[46] Draeger I, 663. [47] S. S. 414.

tive marks the condition or occasion in which something takes place: Terence Ad. 49 *in eo* me oblecto; Cels. 2, 10 maxime tamen *in his* medicus imperitus falli potest. Unconsciously a transition from expressions like these to similar ones implying strictly cause, manner, and means occurred, and by the time of the early Christian authors the idiom had become firmly established, e. g. Arnobius II, 49 *in* aliquo *lapsu* claudicat vita.[48] Augustine uses *in* with the ablative in an instrumental sense quite frequently. Examples:

> nec solverat ille *in cruce* sua inimicitias, Conf. 5, 9. iubes me laudare te *in istis* et confiteri tibi et psallere nomini tuo, altissime, Conf. 1, 7. recolens vias meas nequissimas *in amaritudine* recogitationis meae, Conf. 2, 1. et anhelaret de illa angelos, immo vero particulas dei, gemendo *in oratione* atque ructando, Conf. 3, 10. enim eas solveret *in cruce* phantasmatis, Conf. 5, 9.

Means is expressed with *in* and *per* in the following: paulatim colligebam measque iam voluntates, edomito *in eis signis* ore, per haec enuntiabam, Conf. 1, 8. For instrumental *in* with the ablative, cf. also 2, 3; 2, 5; 4, 14; 6, 13; 8, 1; 10, 33; 12, 26; 13, 18; 13, 20.

In with the ablative expresses manner in the following instance from the Confessions: Deus meus, recorder *in* gratiarum *actione* tibi et confitear misericordias tuas super me, Conf. 8, 1.

Observe *in* and the ablative to express cause, which is a poetical, Silver, and late Latin construction,[49] in the following:

> quibus immolabam facta mea mala et *in omnibus* flagellabas me, Conf. 3, 3. quod illum *in amore* laudantium magis amaveram quam *in rebus ipsis*, de quibus laudabatur? Conf. 4, 14. quantum flevi *in hymnis* et *canticis tuis*, suave sonantis ecclesiae tuae vocibus conmotus acriter, Conf. 9, 6. haec est mea spes, ideo loquor et *in ea spe* gaudeo, quando sanum gaudeo, Conf. 10, 1. respirent *in bonis meis*, suspirent in *malis meis*. respirent *in illis* et suspirent *in his*, Conf. 10, 4. omnis animae, quae *in Adam* moritur. quamquam illa *in Christo* vivificata etiam nondum a carne resoluta sic vixerit, ut laudetur nomen tuum *in fide* moribusque eius, Conf. 9, 13.

In Classical Latin *in* with the temporal ablative is found only in a few cases referring to circumstances of time, i. e. pertaining

[48] Gabarrou 115; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 564; S. S. 412; Salonius 103 ff.
[49] S. S. 412.

to age. Temporal *in* found its way into the language for the sake of clearness. The poets used it for metrical purposes. It is found very frequently in late and Ecclesiastical Latin where it becomes a standardized usage.[50] This phenomenon is, however, not found often in the Confessions. Examples:

> nec satiabar *in illis diebus* dulcitudine mirabili, Conf. 9, 6. dicit ei fides mea, quam accendisti *in nocte* ante pedes meos, Conf. 13, 14.

In is omitted with time pertaining to age, if there is an adjective modifier.[51] Observe the superfluous use of *in* in the following: cum esset in annis sedecim, Conf. 9, 6. et *in puerilibus annis* maiorum pondere premi solent, Conf. 9, 8.

In the following *in his* seems to be used for *in talibus,* viz. "by such occasions as this."[52] dixi tunc multa in hac sententia caris meis et saepe advertebam *in his,* quomodo mihi esset, Conf. 6, 6.

b. *Super.*

Super with the ablative in the sense of *de* "concerning" is characteristic of colloquial speech. It is rarely used in the Classical language, but somewhat more frequently in poetry and in the post-Classical period, and often in late Latin.[53] Our author contributes several instances, thus:

> confitear misericordias tuas *super me*, Conf. 8, 1. nec satiabar . . . considerare altitudinem consilii tui *super salute* generis humani, Conf. 9, 6. multa mihi *super hoc* aboritur admiratio, stupor adprehendit me, Conf. 10, 8.

[50] S. S. 388; Draeger I, 530.
[51] S. S. 388.
[52] Gibb and Montgomery 149.
[53] K. S. II, 626.

CHAPTER III.

Adjectives.

1. *Adjectives Used as Substantives.*

When a substantive that contains a general notion is to be more closely qualified or defined, the substantive is often omitted and the qualifying adjective is used alone, assuming the functions of that substantive. This substantive use of the adjective occurs less frequently in Latin than in Greek for the reason that Latin generally tends to avoid the use of substantives, using instead a relative clause. An ellipsis of the noun is permissible only when it is entirely clear from the substantive idea inherent in the adjective what noun of person or thing is to be supplied. Such a substantival use of the adjective was kept within narrow limits in ante-Classical and Classical periods, in general as follows: Many adjectives in *-arius* and *-icus* (the latter mostly Greek) designating office or occupation, and words expressing friendship, kinship or relationship in the singular and plural of masculine and feminine gender, e. g. *aquarius,* "waterman"; *librarius,* "bookman"; *grammaticus,* "grammarian"; *amicus,* "friend" *socius,* "partner". The neuter singular adjective is not seldom used as a noun especially in philosophical and scientific language, mostly with adjectives of the second, seldom with those of the third declension. The neuter plural is very frequent. In the oblique cases *res* is usually added for clearness, but occasionally even in Cicero the *res* is omitted, very often in Livy and even more frequently in later writers. The spread of the use of an adjective for a noun began with Cicero in his philosophical works, and continued extensively in the Augustan poets, and was employed increasingly in the historians of the Silver age, especially Livy and Tacitus, becoming extremely common among the authors of the late epoch, where examples of all kinds in every case, gender and number appear.[1]

[1] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 222 ff.; S. S. 608 ff.; Gildersleeve-Lodge 204; Lane 190; Juret (2) 225.

New ideas arose as time went on and hence new terms were formed to express these new ideas, e. g. during the Empire a great number of words in *-arius* were formed to designate the many new offices created. Christian philosophy demanded many new terms. Latin translations of the Greek likewise led to a more widespread use of the adjective as a substantive in Ecclesiastical Latin, since it was easier to use an adjective already in existence than to coin a new substantive to fit a new Christian meaning, e. g. the Greek τὸ σωτήριον, a neuter adjective, was translated as *salutare* and the substantive σωτήρ, for which the Greek also uses σωτήριος, as *salutaris*, or as the newly formed substantive *salvator*. Older forms, e. g. *servator* "rescuer," "saviour," were avoided because of the aversion on the part of Christian authors to use a pagan term to express a Christian idea. In Ecclesiastical Latin "Evil Spirit" is sometimes designated by the Greek loan words *diabolus, daemon,* and again by the substantival adjectives *malus, inimicus, malignus,* and even *maior*. It is interesting to note also that the Vulgate overlooked the finer shades of meaning between the neuter adjective and the abstract noun, a phenomenon that the Greek New Testament carefully observed.[2] This is probably another reason for the great increase in the number of neuter adjectives used substantively in the Fathers.

This new feature of the syntax of adjectives is employed with great freedom by such Christian writers as Jerome,[3] Arnobius,[4] Cyprian,[5] and Avitus.[6] The following illustrates Augustine's non-Classical use of adjectives as substantives in the Confessions.

a. Substantival Use of Masculine Adjectives.

In Classical Latin the masculine plural of adjectives was frequently employed substantively to designate a class in all cases, especially the nominative and accusative, e. g. *boni,* "the good"; *pauperes,* "the poor"; *divites,* "the rich"[7] The following similar examples from the Confessions are not found in strictly Classical writers but they are common in other Ecclesiastical writers:

[2] Salonius 173 ff.
[3] Goelzer (J) 108.
[4] Gabarrou 147.
[5] Bayard 271.
[6] Goelzer (A) 646.
[7] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 222; Draeger I, 146.

ne quis eorundum *delirorum* . . . mihi ita resisteret (dotards), Conf. 7, 6. et vix audivi propter tumultus *inpacatorum* (enemies of peace), Conf. 12, 10. generans per evangelium filios, ne semper *parvulos* haberet (little ones, babes with regard to comprehending Catholic Doctrine), Conf. 13, 22.

Parvuli, meaning "children," is not found until the post-Classical period.[8] Note this exemplified in the following: et dicebam *parvulis* fidelibus, Conf. 4, 15. The following are also common among late and Ecclesiastical writers:

moribusque *fidelium* (The Faithful), Conf. 13, 23. sed etiam *spiritales* tui in eodem firmamento positi atque distincti . . . luceant (spiritual children), Conf. 13, 16; Cf. also Conf. 5, 10. *spiritales* ergo, . . . spiritaliter iudicant (spiritually inclined persons), Conf. 13, 23. accipiantur personae divitum, aut prae *ignobilibus* nobilis (common people), Conf. 8, 4. In vestustatem perducens *superbos* et nesciunt (proud in a Christian sense), Conf. 1, 4; Cf. also 3, 5. ut *scholasticis* suis . . . Mediolanenses venditorem verborum alium providerent (scholars), Conf. 9, 5.

The singular of masculine adjectives is not as frequently used substantively as the plural in the Classical epoch, especially the nominative case.[9] The following examples from the Confessions of the masculine singular of adjectives used substantively do not appear in Classical Latin:

quia dederas, et *egeno* redeunti dulcior (to the poor wretch), Conf. 1, 18. quam tamen ficum si comedisset aliquis *sanctus* alieno sane . . . nisi electi sancte dente ac ventre solverentur (a Manichean holy one or saint), Conf. 3, 10. ipsum quoque salvatorem nostrum *unigenitum* tuum (Only Begotten Son, Christ), Conf. 5, 10; Cf. also 9, 4; 12, 7 quia *hodiernus* tuus non cedit crastino, Conf (11, 13) twice. vel invidendo sicut *feliciori miserior* (as a miserable one against a happy one), Conf. 3, 8. sed neque catholicum *christianum* (a Catholic Christian), Conf. 6, 1. me visura esset fidelem *catholicum* (true Catholic), Conf. 6, 1.

In Classical Latin *unicus* was used with *filius, filia, spes, nepos,* etc., but not alone as in the examples below:[10] Christi tui, regimen *unici* tui in domo fideli (Christ the only Son), Conf. 9, 8; in verbo tuo, in *unico* (Christ,) Conf. 13, 34.

[8] K. S. II, 251; Bonnet 206; Draeger 57.

[9] Draeger I, 47; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 224. [10] K. S. II, 692.

b. Substantival Use of Neuter Adjectives.

The neuter singular adjective, especially in philosophical language, appears most frequently with prepositions. Such prepositional forms were taken over into Classical Latin from archaic Latin, but not used extensively in that period. Livy, Seneca, the two Plinys, Tacitus, and, above all, later writers made a more lavish use of these forms. Greek models in such phrases as ἐξ ἴσου, ἀγχιμόλου, ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ prompted later writers to use similar prepositional combinations in Latin.[11] The following appear in the Confessions:

> et, deus, vidisti delonguinquo lapsantem *in lubrico* (slippery course), Conf. 4, 2. Curtius, Seneca, and Pliny use this phrase.[12] nec *in praeteritum* transiret (pass into times past), Conf. (11, 14) twice. ut . . . cogitemus, *de quam profundo* clamandum sit ad te, Conf. 2, 3. nam etsi descendero *in infernum ades* (in hell), Conf. 1, 2. (Cf. Psalm 138, 8).

Phrases, such as *in tantum, in quantum* for *tantum, quantum,* found in the Silver age, especially in Tacitus,[13] have their parallels in the Confessions as seen in the subsequent passages: et omnia vera sunt, *in quantum sunt,* Conf. 7, 15. Cf. also 8, 9; 11, 9; 10, 43; 8, 6; 12, 15. a quo sunt omnia, et *in quantumcumque* sunt, Conf. 12, 7. atque *in tantum* ab eis corrumperetur, Conf. 7, 2. Cf. also 8, 9; 10, 43; 11, 28.

The adverbial phrase *in aeternum* is not Classical but is common in Christian writers.[14] Our author uses it thus: erimus tecum ultra *in aeternum* et "a momento isto non tibi licebit hoc et illud ultra *in aeternum,*" Conf. 8, 11. permanere illic *in aeternum,* Conf. 13, 9. Cf. also 2, 6; 9, 10; 12, 15.

The following are late examples of the neuter singular of the adjective used substantively without the preposition:

> et tamen pulchrum illud atque *aptum,* Conf. 4, 14. cum *opportunum* viderat, Conf. 9, 9. et excruciabar, accusans memet ipsum *solito* aceribus nimis (much more eagerly than was my custom),

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[11] Draeger 55 and 59; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 228; Juret (2) 26.
[12] Draeger 57.
[13] K. S. I, 702.
[14] K. S. I, 122.

Conf. 8, 11.[15] etiam extra mundum per infinita diffusum, etiam ipsum *incorruptibile* et *inviolabile* et incommutabile, quod *corruptibili* et *violabili* et commutabili praeponebam, Conf. 7, 1.

The plural of neuter adjectives used substantively is of frequent occurrence, especially in the nominative and accusative cases, because here the gender is easily distinguished. Besides the adjectives, such as *multa, omnia, mala, bona,* etc., which are used substantively in the Classical period, we note the following in the Confessions which are common in all Christian writers:

prae bonis superioribus et *beatificis* abjecta et iactentia (happy-making riches), Conf. 2, 5. vanitas est enim *mundana* ista etiam nota (worldly things), Conf. 5, 5. revolare a *terrenis* ad te (earthly delights), Conf. 3, 4. rector caelitum et *terrenorum* (earthly things), Conf. 9, 8. non videmus firmamentum caeli . . . et cuncta *spiritalia* eius (spiritual inhabitants of the firmament), Conf. 7, 5. et placuit in conspectu tuo reformare *deformia* mea (defects, misdeeds), Conf. 7, 8. Cf. also 9, 6. et non me sinebat falsa opinio, quam de *spiritalibus* habebam, verum cernere (spiritual matters), Conf. 4, 15. Cf. also 5, 8; 6, 13; 6, 11; 13, 6. ad exemplum contemnendorum *temporalium* prae adipiscenda immortalitate (worldly things), Conf. 7, 19 et ebriosi quaedam *salsiuscula* comedunt (saltish waters), Conf. 8, 3. priusquam in lagunculam funderet merum, primoribus labris sorbebat *exiguum* (smallest taste, sip), Conf. 9, 8. perambulavimus gradatim cuncta *corporalia* (all these corporeals), Conf. 9, 10. Cf. also 5, 1. nec scientiam eius *transitorum* aliquid pati (transitory affections), Conf. 12, 15. et *fluxa* tua reformabuntur (thy fadings), Conf. 4, 11. *Fluxa,* as here in the sense of *dilapsa,* is cited only in Augustine's Confessions 4, 11.[16] et *inconposita* nostra conponeres (disordered things), Conf. 13, 34. et reflorescent *putria* tua (thy decays), Conf. 4, 11. *fabulosissima* et *absurdissima* . . . credenda imperari (most fabulous and absurd things), Conf. 6, 5. et videbat quaedam vana *phantastica* (phantastical things), Conf. 6, 13. vel inter animas, alias *intellegibilibus,* alias *sensibilibus* deditas (intellectual and things pertaining to the senses), Conf. 13, 18. in *caelestibus,* Conf. 12, 11. super ista *caelestia* (heavenly places), Conf. 12, 11.

c. Substantival Use of Feminine Adjectives.

In the Classical period feminine adjectives are more seldom used

[15] For the special construction of the ablative of *solitus* with a comparative see paragraph on comparatives and superlatives below.

[16] T. L. L. vol. VI, p. 984, l, 60 ff.

as nouns than those of any other gender.[17] The instances below with a special Christian sense appear in the Confessions. They do not appear as adjectives in Classical literature.

> ita enim *catholica* non mihi victa videbatur (catholic party), Conf. 5, 14. et cuius erant nisi tua verba illa per matrem meam, *fidelem* tuam (thy faithful one), Conf. 2, 3. cum *catholicam* tuam caecis contentionibus accusarem (Catholic Church), Conf. 6, 4.

2. *Comparison of Adjectives.*

There is a considerable deviation from Classical norms in late Latin in the comparison of adjectives. Some adverbs not regularly so used came to be employed in the comparison of adjectives. From time to time certain ones lost favor and were superseded by others. Many were of such plebeian character that they were never admitted into the literary language. *Valde,* for example, used with the positive degree of an adjective for a superlative was introduced into prose by Cicero, and was often used in his letters, but did not survive him to any extent. It is occasionally found in the Silver Latin period, but in late Latin it appears frequently. It is often found in the Scriptures.[18] Augustine uses *valde* with a positive for a superlative thus:

> *valde* hoc *mirabile* caelum corporeum, Conf. 12, 18. et ecce *bona valde,* Conf. 13, 28. non hoc illa erat, sed aliud, *aliud valde* ab istis omnibus, Conf. 7, 10, adulescens *valde bonus* et *valde castus,* Conf. 4, 3. magnus es, domine, et *laudabilis valde,* Conf. 1, 1. Cf. also 4, 3; 10, 35; 13, 32. aestus autem illi mei *otiosum* eum *valde,* Conf. 6, 3.

Nimis is used only to strengthen the positive, not the comparative. *Nimis longior* for *nimis longus,* or *longior* alone, is not Classical.[19] Note the following from the Confessions: accusans memet ipsum *solito acerbius nimis,* Conf. 8, 11.

Expresssions denoting comparisons, e. g. *in maius, in melius,* etc., probably copied from Thucydides, appear from Sallust and Livy on, and are often found in Tacitus and his imitators such as Ammianus.[20] Our author uses the following in his Confessions:

[17] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 222.
[18] K. S. II, 711; S. S. 613; Bonnet 308.
[19] K. S. II, 148; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 469 ff. [20] S. S. 609.

quod neque *in melius* neque *in deterius* mutari potest, Conf. 13, 3.

Plures often loses its comparative force in post-Augustan prose, and is used as the equivalent of *multi.*[21] Note the weakened *plures* in:

> cum pararem recitare imperatori laudes, quibus *plura* mentirer, Conf. 6, 6. verum etiam quidam *plures* annos caecus cives civitatique notissimus, Conf. 9, 7. *plures* enim eos Roma occultabat, Conf. 5, 10.

The superlative itself was compared as early as Seneca, but frequently only in late Latin.[22] This phenomenon is not common in the Confessions. I have noted the following example: nisi velut tempore prior sit, cum pendatur *extremior,* Conf. 12, 29.

Adjectives gradually lost their comparative and superlative force in the course of the development of the language, and adjectives of different degrees of comparison were often used together in the same clause. This is especially characteristic of African and late Latin. The origin of this phenomenon is to be found in the colloquial language of both Greek and Latin.[23] Augustine furnishes a few examples in the Confessions. Note the superlative and positive together in:

> multis *minutissimis* et *contemtibilibus* rebus, Conf. 10, 35. quae particulae *summi* et *veri* dei ligatae, Conf. 3, 10. unde scis illos unius *veri* et *veracissimi* dei, Conf. 6, 5.

Positive and comparative: ex eis suspicamur alia *grandiora* et *infinita,* Conf. 3, 6. ita sit semper *longe* atque *longius,* Conf. 10, 35.

Comparative and superlative: dum . . . *meliora et summa* deseruntur, Conf, 2, 5.

The comparative seems to take the place of the superlative in: verbum enim tuum, aeterna veritas, *superioribus* creaturae tuae partibus supereminens, Conf. 7, 18.

In the following the comparative seems to approach a positive: sed tam remota et retrusa quasi in cavis *abditioribus,* Conf. 10, 10. cum ad te referrem *inferiora* visa mea, Conf. 10, 40.

In the following the superlative seems to be used for the positive: et nunc erues de hoc *inmanissimo* profundo quaerentem te animam, Conf. 1, 18.

[21] K. S. II, 311.

[22] Draeger I, 26.

[23] S. S. 616 ff.; Salonius 202.

Longe replaces *multo* as an ablative of degree of difference among the poets and in Silver and late Latin. Thus, *longe melior, longe magis* are first found in Sallust H. 3, 48, 9.[24] Augustine has the following in the Confessions:

> multorum enim civium *longe opulentiorum* nullum tale negotium pro liberis erat, Conf. 2, 3. et tumebam typho, quamquam *longe sedatior*, domine, Conf. 3, 3. sed longe his *melior* qui fecit omnia, Conf. 4, 11. et audiebam eas iam *longe minus* quam dimidius, Conf. 8, 11. Parvulis tuis *longe tardius* ingenium, Conf. 4, 16. longe tu, *longe mirabilius longeque secretius*, Conf. 11, 31.

In the example below the adjective *imo* (poetical) is used for the more common *infimo*. Moreover, the idiom in Classical usage would have the nouns agreeing with the adjective *infimo*, viz. in the ablative case instead of the genitive. Note the example: quod miseratus es *in imo abyssi*, Conf. 2, 4.

3. *Pronominal Adjectives.*

Alter refers to one of two, *alius* to diversity. With but few exceptions Classical Latinity strictly differentiated the use of *alius* and *alter*. Colloquial speech, however, did not observe such strict lines of demarcation, and one soon took the place of the other. This is especially characteristic of late Latin.[25] In Augustine's Confessions, cf. the following:

> aut cui *alteri* praeter te clamabo, Conf. 1, 5. nonne protulisti durum et acutum ex *altera* anima convicium, Conf. 9, 8. Et dedisti *alterum* responsum interim, quod recolo, Conf. 3, 12.

Toti = *omnes* (all) is rare in Classical Latin. It was common in military language and in the poets, not in prose until Seneca, but often used in Apuleius and in Christian Latinity.[26] This later feature of syntax has its parallel in the Confessions thus: et amplexer manum tuam *totis* praecordiis meis, Conf. 1, 15. et *totas* manus ei dedi, Conf. 2, 2.

Unus used as an indefinite article is rare in Classical Latin, but more frequent in Post-Augustan and late Latin.[27] The following

[24] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 463; K. S. II, 33; Lane 247.
[25] S. S. 629; Svennung 75; Gabarrou 160.
[26] S. S. 628; K. S. II, 668; Rönsch 338.
[27] S. S. 623; Salonius 327; Gabarrou 161.

examples alone appear in the Confessions: aut in *una* doma videat aliquid tractari manibus a quoquam servo, Conf. 3, 7. aut in *uno* die, indicto a pomeridianis horis iustitio, Conf. 3, 7.

In the Augustan period *tanti* was used for *tot* (so many), but not frequently. In translations of the Bible and in the Fathers this usage abounds.[28] The following alone, however, has been found in the Confessions: et quid a te petebat, deus meus, *tantis* lacrimis, nisi ut navigare me non sineres? Conf. 5, 8.

4. *Miscellaneous Use of the Adjective.*

The adjective *proprius* used as a possessive pronoun for *tuus, suus* is late Latin.[29] This also occurs in Augustine thus: et vertitur per nutum *proprium* de caelesti serenitate detorta atque deiecta? Conf. 3, 2. parentes inter suos esse primarios, nobilem familiam *propriae* civitatis, natales ingenuos, Conf. 7, 6.

Dimidius is always used with *pars* in the Classical period, but with other nouns from the post-Augustan epoch on.[30] Our author uses *dimidius* with *spatio* thus: quo mitientes solis circuitum diceremus eum *dimidio spatio* temporis peractum minus quam solet, Conf. 11, 23.

Plerique meaning "very many" is not strictly Classical. It is found in Nepos, Livy, Tacitus, Suetonius and late Latin.[31] Note the following instance from the Confessions: eamque stimulabat in odium veri amor vini, sicut *plerosque* mares et feminas, Conf. 6, 2.

Universus for *omnis* is quite frequently found in Ambrose, particularly in the genitive plural.[32] There are instances of this usage in the Confessions. In our author *universus* is apparently used for *totus* oftener than for *omnis.*

Examples of *universus* for *omnis:*

> ut postea digereret dierum enumeratione quasi articulatim *universa*, Conf. 12, 17. propter *universa* haec atque huius modi peccatum admittitur, Conf. 2, 5. indicantibus ex humano die et *universos* mores humani generis ex parte moris sui metientibus; Conf.

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[28] S. S. 629.

[29] K. S. II, 408; Svennung 65.

[30] K. S. I, 451.

[31] K. S. II, 309.

[32] K. S. II, 694; G. Landgraf, Die Hegesippus-Frage, in Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie, vol. XII, 1902, p. 470.

3, 7. pro quibus effugiendis tibi per *universas* terras cum timore magno supplicatur, Conf. 1, 9. et ex deo meo salus mihi *universa*, Conf. 1, 6. propter *universa* haec atque huius modi peccatum admittitur, Conf. 2, 5. quanto magis deus regnator *universae* creaturae, Conf. 3, 8.

Examples of *universus* for *totus:*

quorum ordinatissimo conventu conpletur *universum*, Conf. 13, 28. et indicaverunt abyssum *universae* spiritalis creaturae in profundo, Conf. 13, 8. neque in *universo* mundo fecisti *universum* mundum, Conf. 11, 5. et constituebam in conspectu *universam* creaturam, Conf. 7, 5. interrogavi auras flabiles, et inquit *universus* aer cum incolis suis, Conf. 10, 16. turpis enim omnis pars *universo* suo non congruens, Conf. 3, 8.

Cuncta is used for *omnia* in the following passage: et tamen in *cuncta* haec adipiscenda non est egrediendum abs te, domine, Conf. 2, 5.

CHAPTER IV.

Pronouns.

In the growth of the Latin language, perhaps the greatest change appears in the syntax of pronouns. The work of three forces, viz. popular speech, foreign idioms, and poetic diction, is responsible for this development.[1] The quotations below gathered from the Confessions are illustrative of how late Latin deviated from Classical norms in this particular.

I. *Personal Pronoun.*

In Classical Latin as well as in Greek the personal pronouns are used only for emphasis and contrast. In colloquial speech they are often put with the finite verb but without emphasis. We find them also so used in inscriptions.[2] Augustine conforms quite closely to Classical usage in this regard. The following instances of an apparent superfluous use of the pronoun of the first and second persons occur in his Confessions:

> atque certissime incorruptibile corruptibili praeponatur, sicut *ego* iam praeponebam, Conf. 7, 4. et *ego* in auribus tuis . . . increpabam mollitiam affectus mei, Conf. 9, 12. et *ego* furtum facere volui, Conf. 2, 4. Cf. also 1, 14; 2, 3; 2, 10; 3, 4.

II. *Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns.*

Sui, sibi, se, se, are the reflexive forms in Classical Latinity. Augustine has *is* in the following: Tardus est enim sensus carnis, quoniam sensus carnis est: ipse est modus *eius,* Conf. 4, 10.

Such prepositional forms as *per se, pro se,* etc., are rare in Cicero and Caesar. With Livy this usage begins to widen.[3] They are likewise rare in Augustine's Confessions. Examples:

> tunc nequissimus malarum cupiditatum servus *per me ipsum* legi et intellexi, Conf. 4, 16. non per ea, sed *per se ipsum,* ut audiamus verbum eius, Conf. 9, 10.

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[1] Bayard 130 ff.; S. S. 624 ff.

[2] S. S. 336.

[3] Draeger I, 70; Salonius 270.

Here the phrases signify "personally," "self," almost a meaningless supplement just as *sibi* is often used. Note also the additional *ipse* in the above. Extensive grouping of pronouns is characteristic of late Latin.

Reciprocity is regularly expressed by *inter nos, inter se, inter vos, inter ipsos* with the *se* understood, in Classical Latinity. In later Latin reciprocity was expressed in various ways that had their origin partly in the Hebrew idiom and partly in colloquial speech. From Livy on, *invicem inter se* was used to vary literary style, and finally *invicem* alone appeared. From Tacitus on *invicem se* appeared as another expression. Examples: Livy 41, 3, 3 pugna cum vulneribus et caede *invicem* militum nautarumque oritur; Tacitus D. 25 *invicem se* obtrectaverunt. *Ab* or *ad invicem* and similar expressions, besides the reciprocal *vicissim,* are found in late Latin, e. g. in C. Silius Italicus (101 A. D.) 1, 520 *vicissim* hortando, and in later authors only.[4] All of the expressions noted above are represented in the Confessions. Examples:

> et inopiam suam sibimet *invicem* anhelantium, Conf. 6, 10. omnes sibimet *invicem,* quisque ut eum noverat, instrepuerunt nomen, Conf. 8, 2. diligamus nos *invicem,* Conf. 12, 30. et *vicissim* benivole obsequi, Conf. 4, 8. quos utique amicos gratis diligebam *vicissimque* ab eis me diligi gratis sentiebam, Conf. 6, 16.

Augustine also uses the *invicem* with prepositions, which is characteristic of very late Latin, a combination suggested by such Greek models as πρὸς ἀλλήλους, etc.[5] Examples:

> qui vellent *pro invicem* simul mori, Conf. 4, 6. aut quod *a se invicem* vel unum diem domestica lite dissenserint, Conf. 9, 9. ut cum ab utraque multa *de invicem* audiret amarissima, Conf. 9, 9. et nimis pendebamus *ex invicem,* 4, 4. docere aliquid *invicem* aut discere *ab invicem,* Conf. 4, 8. quorum plerique ita *post invicem* funduntur ex utero, Conf. 7, 6. et paraverunt quos *ad se invicem* mitterent, Conf. 7, 6.

Salonius thinks that the development of reciprocity in those expressions took place as follows: Duo senes *sibi* loquebantur > . . . *sibi invicem* > . . . *sibi ad invicem* > . . . *ad invicem.* Gradually the preposition was omitted and *invicem* alone was used.[6]

[4] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 616 ff.; S. S. 620; Kaulen 142; Salonius 239 ff.
[5] K. S. I, 784; Kaulen 142. [6] Salonius 240 ff.

Parallel with *invicem* was *alter uter* out of which developed the adverbial forms *alterutrum* and *alterutro,* employed by the so-called African authors. These latter adverbial forms are frequently found in late Latin,[7] e. g. in Jerome,[8] and they later went over into the Romance languages. Our author expresses reciprocity thus only twice in the *De Civitate Dei,*[9] and twice in the Confessions, thus: atque ita qui ab *alterutro* misso sunt, Conf. 7, 6. quia fervefaciunt se et inflammantur ex *alterutro,* Conf. 8, 4.

A curious way of expressing reciprocity is the following: intervalla temporum, et comparamus *sibimet,* et dicimus alia longiora et alia breviora, Conf. 11, 16. Probably *invicem* is to be supplied here. Reflexive pronouns are also used to show reciprocity in St. Cyprian.[10]

III. *The Intensive Pronoun.*

The intensive pronoun *ipse* extended its use greatly in late Latin. We find it used for *is, hic, ille, iste, idem* and even as a definite article. Furthermore, it is a well-known fact that *ipse* developed into a definite article in some parts of the confines of the Romance languages.[11] The extended use of the intensive pronoun is a prominent feature in the Confessions. No clear example, however, of *ipse* with the force of a definite article appears.

Ipse almost invariably connotes a contrast in Classical Latin. This contrast is usually strong, and the antecedent of *ipse,* in view of this fact, is brought very prominently before the reader, while the object with which it is contrasted fades away. Draeger[12] remarks that from Curtius on we find instances where *ipse* modifies the subject without stressing it. There is no doubt that αὐτός, in the usual meaning of its oblique cases, contributed not a little to the development of this later usage of *ipse,* not only in Latin translators of Greek writings but in all Patristic literature which was subjected to a strong Greek influence. In late Latin, as we

[7] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 616.
[8] Goelzer (J) 412; Goelzer (A) 663.
[9] Colbert 28.
[10] Watson 307.
[11] S. S. 621; Meader 208; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 633.
[12] Draeger I, 81.

have said, it is often to be identified with *is, idem* and *ille.*[13] The Confessions abound in examples, but it is often difficult to decide whether *ipse* is more like *idem, ille,* or *is.* Sometimes it stands for either *is* or *ille.* Note *ipse* for *is* or *ille* in:

> cum mihi narrasset *ipsum* visum, Conf. 3, 11. sed liber ille *ipsius* exhortationem continet ad philosophiam, Conf. 3, 4. nam primo etiam *ipsa* defendi posse mihi iam coeperunt videri, Conf. 5, 14. Cf. also (6, 3), twice.

Ipse stands for *ille,* thus:

> Et per annos ferme *ipsos* novem, Conf. 5, 6. nec ausus est subire *ipse* sarcinam, Conf. 5, 7. nam et in *ipsa* misera inquietudine defluentium spiritum, Conf. 13, 8. Cf. also 4, 11; 4, 12; 7, 1; 11, 27; 12, 17; 13, 31.

In the following, *ipse* takes the place of *is:*

> quid est enim aliud ventos pascere quam *ipsos* pascere, Conf. 4, 2. si autem ideo ament illud, quia verum est, iam et *ipsorum* est et meum est, Conf. (12, 25) twice. et ipse non lateat veritatem, *ipsum* autem veritas lateat, Conf. 10, 23. Cf. also 10, 8; 10, 5; 12, 25; 7, 1 passim.

There is but scanty information regarding the use of *ipse* alone in the sense of *idem.* In the Christian poet Commodianus we find this usage represented,[14] also in Augustine, thus:

> et vituperando atque spernendo ea *ipsa* narrarent, non accenderer in eo, Conf. 4, 14. quod ex membris pulchris omnibus constat, quam *ipsa* membra singula, Conf. 13, 28. cum et me cupiditatibus raperes ad finiendas *ipsas* cupiditates, Conf. 5, 8. Cf. also 13, 10; 10, 18; 12, 9.

Combinations such as *is ipse, hic ipse, ille ipse,* etc., expressing identity were known to Plautus and Terence and are found in all epochs of Latin. Of these phrases the neuter singular *id ipsum* gained the greatest prominence. At a later period it was often used to translate *τὸ ἀυτό*; e. g. I Cor. 1, 10 *παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς . . . ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες* (that ye all speak the same thing). There is no doubt that *ὁ αὐτός* exercised a strong influence in this direc-

[13] Meader 165 ff., 184 ff.; S. S. 619; K. S. I, 790; Watson 306; Juret (2) 33.

[14] Meader 163, 170 ff.; Koffmane 137.

tion, especially on Patristic literature. Arnobius, Lactantius, Ambrose, Cassianus, Avitus, etc., use this phrase. *Id ipsum* became identical in meaning with *idem* as early as A. Gellius. It often appears in Biblical and in Ecclesiastical Latin.[15] Augustine resorts to this phrase for *idem* in the following: et tu es *id ipsum* et *id ipsum* et *id ipsum,* sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus, Conf. 12, 6. Cf. also 12, 17; 12, 15; 13, 11.

The form *idem ipsum* occurs oftenest in Biblical and Ecclesiastical Latin. It is not Classical.[16] Our author has the following instance: *idem ipsum* unum, quod ubique poneret, circumferebat, Conf. 6, 2.

In the following, *ipse* has something of the force of *hic:* non ergo *ipsas,* quae iam non sunt, sed aliquid in memoria metior, Conf. 11, 27. cogitanti autem imagines corporum *ipsae* opponebantur redeunti, Conf. 7, 7.

IV. *Demonstrative Pronoun.*

Is is the weakest in meaning of all the demonstrative pronouns. In Roman poetical literature we find the most striking proofs of the weakening of the force and gradual disuse of the various forms of *is.* Poets such as Vergil, Catullus, Horace, and Lucan preferred *hic, ille, iste, ipse, idem* for metrical purposes. Souter [17] says that *is* was always a weak word, and if it was wrongly aspirated, some of its forms were liable to be confused with those of *hic.* The failure to aspirate forms of *hic* was commoner and led to a confusion with forms of *is.* The effect was to drive *is* almost out of the language.[18] The *is, ea, id* forms are comparatively seldom used in the Confessions, especially the one-syllabled forms. This is apparently characteristic of all late Latin writers. This gradual disappearance of the *is* forms in increasing proportion, from the Silver age on, holds good also for prose but in a less degree. When the *is, ea, id* forms lost ground, *hic, ille, ipse* and *iste* assumed their functions, thereby gradually becoming weakened in meaning, and the result was that the different demonstratives were used almost synony-

[15] Salonius 236; Meader 168 ff.; Grandgent 35.
[16] K. S. I, 673.
[17] Souter (2) 46.
[18] Meader 6 ff.; Salonius 229 ff.

mously in late Latin,[19] whereas in Classical Latinity their usage was precisely defined. This late Latin tendency is strongly reflected in the Confessions, as the following paragraphs will indicate. *Ille* is used for *is* in the following:

> neque enim sperabam revivescere *illum* aut hoc petebam lacrimis, Conf. 4, 5. quae cum *ille* dixisset, atque *illa* nollet adquiescere, Conf. 3, 12. et quidquid cum *illo* communicaveram sine *illo* incruciatum inmanem verterat, Conf. 4, 4. Cf. also 4, 6; 3, 12; 5, 6; 1, 5; (4, 12) three times; 13, 9; 10, 7 passim.

Iste, a comparatively rare word in Classical times, came to have the value of *hic,* which is reflected in Romance forms like Spanish "este" (this). This new sense predominates in late writers. It was also used for *is* and *ille,* especially among African authors, with whom *iste* is a favorite word. Its use is excessive in Lactantius, although it is worthy of note that many authors of the post-Augustan epoch, such as Vellius and Pomponius Mela, do not use the word, while later African pagan writers like Fronto, Gellius, and Apuleius use the word extensively. The weakening of *hic,* due to its use for *is,* unconsciously led the users of the language to find another word. *Ille,* with its strong demonstrative force, was too remote in meaning from *hic* to serve this purpose, and so they had recourse to *iste. Iste* for *hic* is also found in the old Latin translations of the Greek writings, e. g. *iste* is frequently used in the four Gospels and almost exclusively to represent οὗτος. *Iste* for *hic* is peculiarly African Latinity. The frequency of its use in Africa is probably due to the fact that the literature of the African writers was mainly addressed to the less highly educated, and hence the close approach of their style to the conversational tone. Valerius Maximus is apparently the earliest author who employed *iste* for *hic.*[20] Here above all, Augustine shows the influence of his age and country by manifesting an absolute freedom in his employment of *itse* in the Confessions. He has many instances of *iste* for *hic,* and fully as many of *iste* for *ille.* He seems to resort to *iste* oftener than to any of the other demonstratives. In the following he uses *iste* for *hic:*

[19] S. S. 622; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 632; Grandgent 35.
[20] Souter (2) 46; S. S. 622; Meader 111 ff., 144 ff.

> Unde venerim huc, in *istam*, dico vitam mortalem, Conf. 1, 6. nimis extento desiderio venturum expectabam *istum* Faustum, Conf. 5, 6. et quis est *iste* nisi deus noster, Conf. 4, 9. atque formata in *istius* mundi mole sentimus, Conf. 12, 20. in qua te *iste* mundus oblitus est creatorem suum, Conf. 2, 3.

It is interesting to note that *iste mundus* occurs first in Cyprian Ad. Dem. 19c. The frequently recurring phrase οὗτος ὁ κόσμος has its counterpart, chiefly in Patristic literature, in *iste mundus.* Although *hic mundus* was the Classical and usual form, we find the neuter plural *ista* used as a synonym of it in Manilius, the last Augustan poet.[21] For other instances of *iste* for *hic,* cf. 1, 19; 2, 3; 5, 4; 13, 37; 4, 12; (5, 5) three times; 4, 4; 1, 6; 3, 12 passim.

Occasionally in the Silver epoch *iste* is found referring to objects remote from the speaker and from the person addressed. When the word began to lose the character of a pronoun of the second person, and was frequently used as a substitute for *hic,* it soon sank to the mere function of a demonstrative. The first century A. D. marks the most radical and rapid changes in the meaning of *iste.*[22] Of the following instances of *iste* for *ille* from the Confessions, some very nearly appproach the meaning of *hic* as well, and, as stated above, it is often difficult to classify such examples definitely. Examples of *iste* for *ille:*

> an irrides me *ista* quaerentem, teque de hoc, Conf. 1, 6. quo inter se homines *ista* signa firmarunt, Conf. 1, 13. hic satis elucet maiorem habere vim ad discenda *ista* liberam curiositatem quam meticulosam necessitatem, Conf. 1, 14. sic sunt *isti* qui indignantur, Conf. 3, 7. Cf. also 1, 7; 3, 6; 5, 8; 6, 3 passim.

1. Correlations of Demonstratives.

The normal way of expressing a contrast in Classical Latinity was by *hic—ille* (the latter—the former). *Hic* referred to the nearer word, *ille* to the more remote. Meader[23] says that from Cornificius on (80 B. C.) the order was a matter of indifference, *hic—ille* or *ille—hic,* and the sense was the same. Gildersleeve-Lodge[24] says that when both are matters of indifference, the natural

[21] Meader 126.
[22] Meader 159 ff.
[23] Meader 79 ff.; Régnier 103.
[24] Gildersleeve-Lodge 193.

signification is observed. When the "former" is more important, *hic* stands for the "former" and *ille* for the "latter." From Cicero on *hic—ille* became synonymous with *alius—alius*. They lost all their demonstrative force in Livy.[25] Synonymous with *hic—ille*, we find *hic—hic* as early as Plautus. *Hic—hic*, rare in the Classical period, became more frequent in the Augustan poets and in the Silver Latin epoch. Evidently by analogy with *hic—hic* arose *ille—ille*, though rarely in the Classical period, and since *ista* took the place of *hic*, the combination *iste—ille* appears in the post-Augustan period and *ille—iste* in late Latin.[26] Augustine employs all the late Latin combinations. In speaking of Cicero's *Hortensius*, as to why it appealed to him, Augustine uses *ille—ille* for *hic—ille* in: hoc tamen solo delectabar in illa exhortatione, quod non *illam* aut *illam* sectam, Conf. 3, 4.

Referring to his babyhood he tells of his desires and wants, but says that he could not express them clearly: quia *illae* intus erant, foris autem *illi*, Conf. 1, 6.

The hindrance to his conversion, the two wills combating for the upper hand, are set forth, thus: ita duae voluntates meae, una vetus, alia nova, *illa* carnalis, *illa* spiritalis, confligebant inter se, Conf. 8, 5.

In discussing man's will and his deliberations, St. Auugstine says: utrum hominem veneno interimat an ferro, utrum fundum alienum *illum* an *illum* invadat, Conf. 8, 10. Cf. also 12, 22; 13, 28; 5, 5.

iste—ille for *hic—ille* occurs thus: He alludes to his fondness for the story of the *Aeneid* and his dislike for writing and cipher-ing: vel potius *ista* oderam, *illa* amabam, Conf. 1, 13.

He speaks of the vain divinations of the mathematicians, of a certain Firminus, having the same horoscope as a servant in the same household: atque ita factum esse, ut cum *iste* conjugis, *ille* autem ancillae, Conf. 7, 6. ita ut easdem constellationes usque ad easdem minutias utrique nascenti facere cogerentur, *iste* filio, *ille* servulo, Conf. 7, 6.

God's will is not changeable in what He wills: Non iterum et iterum, neque nunc *ista* nunc *illa*, Conf. 12, 15.

[25] Meader 82 ff.

[26] S. S. 622; Kühner Steg. II, 2, 70; Salonius 232 ff.

The late Latin *ille—iste* for *hic—ille* appears in the Confessions as follows:

One thing makes one man happy and another another, Augustine explains: nec ob aliud *ille* velit militare, non ob aliud *iste* nolit, nisi ut beati sint, Conf. 10, 21.

He explains what time is, comparing it to short and long syllables: nisi quia *illae* longiore tempore sonuissent, *istae* breviore? Conf. 11, 22.

Explaining the passage of Matthew X, 41, our author says: ita quippe *ille* mercedem prophetae, *iste* mercedem iusti accipiet, Conf. 13, 26. Cf. also (3, 7) three times; 4, 15; (13, 27) twice; 10, 20.

V. *Indefinite Pronouns.*

The finer shades of meaning of the indefinite pronouns, so strictly brought out in Classical Latinity, were not carefully regarded in the colloquial language, and became almost effaced in late Latin.[27]

Aliquis (some one), (any one), is used in affirmative sentences, and *quisquam* (any one at all), is usually found in negative sentences during the best period of the literature.[28] In the Confessions the reverse is often the case, although Classical usage prevails over the non-classical usage. Examples of *quisquam* in positive sentences:

> si deliberet *quisquam*, utrum ad conventiculum eorum pergat an ad theatrum, Conf. 8, 10. si ergo *quisquam* noster deliberet, Conf. 8, 10. Cf. also Conf. 1, 2; 1, 6; (1, 9) three times; 3, 7; 1, 18 passim.

aliquid in negative sentences:

> nec *aliquid* veri ab homine comprehendi posse decreverant. Conf. 5, 10. et *aliqua* coercitione revocandi nulla erat copia, Conf. 6, 7. non *aliquis* homo, caro sanguis, Conf. 5, 2. Cf. also Conf. 2, 4; 2, 6; 4, 7; 4, 11; 5, 2; 5, 9; 5, 10 passim.

Aliquis is used for more usual *quis*[29] in the following: si *aliquid* nimie ridiculum . . . occurrit, Conf. 2, 9. si ex anima humana, . . . sed sonaret aliquid, Conf. 4, 3.

[27] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 650.
[28] S. S. 624 ff.
[29] S. S. 625.

The plural forms of *aliquis* are seldom found in Classical Latin.[30] Note the following rare examples:

> id quod non esset, nisi *aliqua* verba didicissem non a docentibus, Conf. 1, 14. et prius domi congregare *aliquos*, Conf. 5, 12. et quia legerat *aliquas* Tullianas orationes, etc., Conf. 5, 6. Cf. also 5, 14; 6, 3; 7, 5.

The form *aliqua* is used as an adjective in Classical Latin. In the post-Augustan period it is also used as a noun.[31] Augustine has this post-Augustan usage thus: cum conciliantur *aliqua* in usum vitae congrua, et tempori, Conf. 3, 9. non de te facta sunt, non de *aliqua* non tua vel quae antea fuerit, sed de concreata, . . . materia, *Conf.* 13, 33.

The plural of *uterque* is used only when there are several objects on two sides. If only two objects are designated, the singular is the strictly Classical usage. Colloquial speech also used the plural in this latter case. We find this occasionally in Classical writers and the poets, but more frequently in Livy and later Latin.[32] In the following the plural of *uterque* is used for the singular:

> quibus ut carerem ibam, sed *utrique* nesciebamus, Conf. 5, 13. sicut in *utraque* mala voluntate, cum quisque deliberat, Conf. 8, 10 ut scirent *utrique*, a quo factum est, Conf. 10, 31.

Quidam means "a kind of," "a certain," in Classical Latinity. In late Latin, in Ammianus and others, this word came to be used for *aliquis* and *quisquam*, and even in the sense of "one" or "a."[33] Note *quidam* for *aliquis* in: hoc modo etiam meum *quiddam* puerile, Conf. 9, 12. *quiddam* in illo angulo permitti aut iuberi, quod in isto iuxta vetetur et vindicetur, Conf. 3, 7. Cf. also 8, 3.

Quisque is often used for *aliquis* in late Latin.[34] The following are representative examples from the Confessions:

> putarem etiam ex illis libris eum posse concipi, si eos solos *quisque* didicisset, Conf. 7, 20. prout *quidque* delectaverit aut offenderit, Conf. 3, 8. quod veri *quisque* de his rebus capere posset, mea verba resonarent, Conf. 12, 31.

[30] K. S. I, 140.
[31] K. S. I, 140.
[32] S. S. 627; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 649.
[33] S. S. 626.
[34] S. S. 626.

The plural of *quisque* is very rare in the Classical period. In late Latin the form *quaeque* is used in the sense of *omnia*.[35] It is found so used in the Confessions: ex morbo cupiditatis in spectaculis exhibentur *quaeque* miracula, Conf. 10, 35.

Augustine uses a peculiar construction in the following: si ergo *quisquam noster* deliberet (one of us), Conf. 8, 10. One would expect, si *quisquam nostrum*.

Note the indefinite use of *aliquis* . . . *aliquis* for *alius* . . . *alius* in: ergo est *aliqua* pars tua maior, *aliqua* minor? Conf. 1, 3.

[35] K. S. II, 463.

CHAPTER V.

Particles.

Thus far little study has been made of the particles in late Latin authors.[1] However, it is apparent that, in general, particles experienced changes in use similar to those of other parts of speech. Some widened their sphere of activity, others suffered restrictions, and between them confusions arose. The following is an attempt to show non-Classical uses of the particles appearing in the Confessions.[2]

1. *Adverbs.*

a. Adverbs of Time.

Ante-Classical and Classical Latinity employ *adhuc* (hitherto, thus far) exclusively to refer to the present, but beginning with Livy, then in Tacitus, Vellius, and Pliny, it refers to the past also, i. e. to bring a past event more vividly into the present, where Classical Latin would use *etiam, etiam tum, id tempus,* etc. *Adhuc* in the sense of "besides," "still," "even," "yet" like the Greek ἔτι, "still others" is Silver and late Latin. *Etiam* or *praeterea alii* is the Classical expression.[3] Augustine uses *adhuc* frequently in these transferred meanings, but usually for *etiam.* Note *adhuc* for *etiam:*

> in ipso *adhuc* lacte matris tenerum cor meum pie biberat, Conf. 3, 4. nam et illud, quod, cum *adhuc* studeret iam me audiens apud Carthaginem, Conf. 6, 9. qui *adhuc* usque diligunt vanitatem, Conf. 9, 4. quid hic faciam *adhuc* et cur hic sim, Conf. 9, 10. sed quis iam sim et quis *adhuc* sim, Conf. 10, 4. et tamen *adhuc* quaerit adipisci, Conf. 10, 21. For further examples cf., Conf. 9, 7; 9, 10; 11, 25; (11, 27) twice; 12, 24.

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[1] Souter (1) 70.

[2] This chapter will treat of all particles except prepositions, which I have found more convenient to discuss in a special chapter.

[3] S. S. 639; K. S. I, 90; Gildersleeve-Lodge 190; Juret (2) 42.

Adhuc referring to the past:

> quasi necesse esset, ut *adhuc* sordidarer, si viveram, Conf. 1, 11. vidisti, domine, cum *adhuc* puer essem, Conf. 1, 11. Audieram enim ego *adhuc* puer de vita aeterna promissa nobis, Conf. 1, 11.

Olim means "once upon a time," "formerly" in Classical Latin. In the Silver age it was used for *iam pridem* (long ago).[4] Note *olim* in this later meaning in: Et ecce infantia mea *olim* mortua est et ego vivo, Conf. 1, 6.

The singular of *plerique* is rarely found in the strictly Classical period. The plural form means "most." In the Silver age, e. g. in Nepos, Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius, it changed its meaning to "very many." *Plerumque* lost its ancient superlative force entirely in late Latin, where it means "very often," and finally became the equivalent of *saepe*, "often."[5] Many examples have been found in Augustine, Jerome,[6] and Gregory of Tours.[7] Note *plerumque* for *saepe* in:

> differt tamen *plerumque* homo somnum excutere, Conf. 8, 5. sicut amici adulantes pervertunt, sic inimici litigantes *plerumque* corrigunt, Conf. 9, 8. quia his *plerumque* solet deplorari quaedam miseria morientium aut quasi omnimoda extinctio, Conf. 9, 12. quia et quod inest *plerumque* occultum est, Conf. 10, 32. adiungit se tamquam pedisequa periculosa iucunditas et *plerumque* praeire conatur, ut eius causa fiat, Conf. 10, 31. et ideo *plerumque* in sermone copiosa est egestas humanae intelligentiae, Conf. 11, 18. illud sane scio, nos *plerumque* praemeditari futuras actiones nostras eamque praemeditationem esse praesentem, Conf. 11, 18.

Retro, "backwards," "back," with the adjectival signification of "formerly," "in past times," modifying a noun, e. g. *retro aetas* is found in inscriptions and in late prose. Tertullian has many instances, and this usage occurs in general throughout late Latin.[8] It appears in the Confessions thus: At si cuiusquam volatilis sensus vagatur per imagines *retro temporum*, et te, . . . miratur, Conf. 11, 13.

The adverb *quousque* "how long," "to what time," is not found often in Classical Latin. In the Silver Latin period it is used to

[4] Bayard 106; Gabarrou 164.
[5] K. S. II, 310.
[6] Goelzer (J) 264.
[7] Bonnet 277.
[8] K. S. II, 514.

vary style with *quatenus*. In late Latin the word is used as a conjunction for *dum* or *quoad*, "so long as," "until." As with *quoad* the late Latin prefers the subjunctive with *quousque*.[9] In the following passages from the Confessions, *quousque* means "until" and is followed by the subjunctive in one place and by the indicative in the other: et reliquias tenebrarum mearum *quousque devoretur* a fortitudine infirmitas, Conf. 11, 2. perreximus nocte intempesta, *quousque* ludum de pestilentiae more in areis *produxeramus*, Conf. 2, 4.

In the following, *quousque* is used as an introductory interrogative particle: *quousque* volves Evae filios in mare . . . ? Conf. 1, 16. et clamat prophetia: *Quousque* graves corde? Conf. 9, 4.

Deinceps means "successively," "one after the other" in Classical Latin. In the Silver age it came to mean "afterwards," the equivalent of *deinde* and *postea*.[10] Note the following example of this later Latin usage: si hoc primo fecit deus, quid fecerit *deinceps*, Conf. 12, 29.

Modo in the sense of the "nearest future," "now," the equivalent of *nunc*, is ante-Classical and does not appear thereafter in this meaning until Livy and late Latin;[11] there are several examples in the Confessions of *modo* for *nunc*, thus:

> non enim sicut *modo* loquor, ita sensi, cum attendi ad illam scripturam, Conf. 3, 5. et addens verbum sanum: *modo* aquam bibitis, quia in potestate vinum non habetis, Conf. 9, 8. tamen etiam ortum ipsum nisi animo imaginarer, sicut *modo* cum id loquor, non eum possem praedicare, Conf. 11, 18.

Longe is most frequently used with reference to length, width, and space. When pertaining to time the word appears only in combination with such words as *dies, tempus, triduum*, etc. We find temporal *longe* in the poets, Silver, and late Latin.[12] This late Latin usage of *longe* is found in the Confessions thus: ne fiducia sui progrederentur *longius*, sed potius infirmarentur, Conf. 7, 18. *Longe fortis, longe affirmare, laudare*, etc., is late Latin usage for *valde*.[13] Note the following: sicubi falsa dixisse convinceretur, non detestandam *longeque* abiciendam esse iudicaret? Conf. 5, 5.

[9] S. S. 579.
[10] K. S. I, 409.
[11] K. S. II, 93; Juret (2) 42.
[12] K. S. II, 33.
[13] K. S. II, 33.

b. Adverbs of Place.

In Classical Latin the pronominal adverb *unde* is used to designate "place from which." From this meaning developed the figurative signification of means, cause, the source from which something proceeds, but in Classical Latin *unde* is never used as a conclusive particle. But as *inde* was used as a conclusive particle rarely in the Classical period, but somewhat more frequently in the Silver age, so *unde* was employed in a similar way in late Latin. Jerome [14] uses *unde* regularly for *quare* or *igitur,* "therefore." [15] The following are representative examples of *unde* and *inde* used as conclusive particles in the Confessions:

> *unde* me verberasti gravibus poenis, Conf. 3, 3. donec ultima post ceteras silentiumque post ultimam. *unde* claret atque eminet, Conf. 11, 6. interest, *unde* quis gaudeat, Conf. 6, 6. in caelestibus super ista caelestia. *Unde* intellegat anima, Conf. 12, 11. Note *unde* for *quare* or *igitur: unde* ipsa facies mea . . . non inluminabatur, Conf. 1, 8. praeteritum vero iam non erat; *unde* nec longum esse portaret, quod omnino non erat, Conf. 11, 15. et *inde* erant dolorum amores, Conf. 3, 2. *inde* in scholam datus sum, ut discerem litteras, Conf. 1, 9.

The use of *unde* in the passages below is probably a development from the instrumental use of *de* in the sense of "by means of which": [16] quid horum est, *unde* quaerere debui deum meum, Conf. 10, 6. omnes *unde* volunt consulunt, sed non semper quod volunt audiunt, Conf. 10, 26.

Adverbial correlations are of frequent occurrence in Classical Latin. They were used from Plautus down to the latest period. *Huc—illuc* and *hinc—illinc* are the most common combinations, but *hinc—inde* is found in Tacitus and late Latin.[17] The following is from the Confessions: alius *hinc,* alius *inde* gaudet, Conf. 10, 21.

Hac—illac rarely occurs in Classical Latin, and *hic—illic* appears only occasionally, being first used by Vergil.[18] Our author

[14] Goelzer (J) 424.

[15] K. S. II, 691 and I, 721; Kühner Steg. II, 2, 147; S. S. 629; Draeger 185; Salonius 212.

[16] S. S. 629.

[17] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 73.

[18] Meader 90.

has the following: per haec omnia discurro et volito *hac illac,* Conf. 10, 17. *hic* veram miseriam, *illic* falsam felicitatem, Conf. 5, 8.

In Cicero *ubique* is used only with *esse,* and in his writings it never appears without *omnes, quicquid,* or *ceteri.* Not until the Silver age was the word in general use. *Ubique* used in the sense of "everywhere," "from all sides" for *undique,* is not Classical.[19] Note *ubique* for *undique,* found in the Confessions: *ubique* totus es et res nulla te totum capit? Conf. 1, 3.

Uspiam, "in any place," is rare in Classical Latin, and occurs usually in affirmative sentences. *Usquam* "any place," "any where," is used in negative sentences. We find these terms confused in Apuleius;[20] also in Augustine in the passages below: neque . . . attigi *neque uspiam* vidi praeter animum meum, Conf. 10, 10. idonea faciem tuam semper videre *nec uspiam* deflectitur ab ea, Conf. 12, 15.

c. Adverbs of Degree.

In Classical Latinity the comparative adverbs *magis, amplius,* and *potius,* although usually translated in the same way, differ from each other as follows:

Magis means "in a higher degree," "more completely" in a comparison of quality and sometimes of action. It is used with verbs, adjectives, and adverbs in answer to the questions "how" or "to what degree," e. g. Nepos 2, 4, 4, victus est Xerxes *magis consilio* Themistocles quam armis Graeciae.

Plus is a substantival adjective in the nominative and accusative cases. It may be followed by a genitive, usually the genitive of the whole, e. g. *plus auri. Plus* denotes "more" or "in a greater quantity," therefore it is always used as a numeral adjective, e. g. *plus tribus annis;* Cicero *Rep.* 1, 35, *plus . . . in pluribus* consilii quam in uno. With some verbs *magis* as well as *plus* is used. *Plus* then assumes the adverbial meaning of "with greater range" or "extent," and answers the question "how much," just as *magis* answers the question "to what degree," e. g. *magis* and *plus* te amo; Cicero Leg. 3, 32 vitiosi principes *plus* exemplo quam peccato nocent.

Amplius, "more," "longer," "further," is used with reference

[19] K. S. II, 687.

[20] K. S. II, 698.

to space with the meaning "further"; with reference to time, with the meaning "longer," e. g. *non amplius,* "not longer," "not more," for which Cicero says, *non iam.* When used with numbers, as frequently, *amplius* is identical with *plus,* e. g. non dico *amplius* Plautus Asin. 203. *amplius* processerat temporis, Caesar Civ. 3, 25, 2. Spatium est non *amplius* pedum sescentorum, Caesar B. C. 1, 28, 5. *Amplius* has the ambiguity of the English word "more," which is sometimes an adjective, sometimes a substantive, and sometimes an adverb.

The actual meaning of *potius* is "rather," "preferably." It indicates one thing to be preferred, and the other to be replaced or excluded, e. g. Callistratus postulabat, ut *potius* amicitiam sequerentur Atticorum, Nepos 15, 6, 1.[21] These terms are often confused in late Latin. There are instances of *magis* for *potius* and vice versa in Classical writers, but this confusion of the two terms is by far more common in late Latin.[22] The following have been found in Augustine:

> "cur ergo errat deus?" et contendebam *magis* incommutabilem tuam substantiam coactam errare, quam meam mutabilem sponte deviasse, et poena errare confitebar, Conf. 4, 15. sed non haeserat, *magisque* doluerat et spreverat, et deinde iam continentissime vivebat, Conf. 6, 12. et huius harenae palaestra erat illa, ubi *magis* timebam barbarismum facere quam cavebam . . . , Conf. 1, 19. sumptus parabantur, animositate *magis* quam opibus patris, Conf. 2, 3. itaque mihi non ad usum, sed ad perniciem *magis* valebat, Conf. 4, 16. Cf. also 3, 6; 3, 12; 4, 14; 6, 4; 10, 39; 13, 31.

We have a peculiar construction in the passages below where *potius* is used for *vero.* A Latin writer does not say for example tu *potius* perge, but rather tu *vero* perge.[23] He is inflamed with a deep desire of praising God, and in addressing God Augustine asks: an *potius* invocaris, ut sciaris? Conf. 1, 1.

Note *amplius* for more usual *plus:*

> ut *amplius* tui caperet elephanti corpus quam passeris, Conf. 7, 1. primoribus labris sorbebat exiguum; quia non poterat *amplius*

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[21] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 461; K. S. II, 313; Bayard 110; T. L. L. vol. I, p. 2012.

[22] K. S. II, 45; Salonius 16; Bayard 110.

[23] K. S. II, 342.

sensu recusante, Conf. 9, 8. tu etiam mihi dabas nolle *amplius*, quam dabas, Conf. 1, 6. quia tanto *amplius* sibi a te concessum de me videbat, Conf. 8, 12.

d. Comparison of Adverbs.

Valde meaning "very", with a positive of an adjective or an adverb, has been explained in the chapter on adjectives, but note here *valde* with the positive of an adverb for a superlative:

valde male mihi erat, Conf. 9, 12. quibus a me in melius iam olim *valde longeque* distabat, Conf. 8, 12. *valde* dulcite, Conf. 9, 10.

Different degrees of comparison grouped together are found chiefly in late Latin.[24] The following instance is from the Confessions: ita sit semper *longe* atque *longius*, Conf. 10, 35.

For similar examples of adjectives, cf. chapter on adjectives.

e. Miscellaneous Uses of Adverbs.

The combination of a preposition and an adverb has its origin in popular speech. Such combinations are numerous in the Greek translations. The phrase *a longe* is Biblical Latin corresponding to the Greek μακρόθεν.[25] One example of this phrase has been found in Augustine: Et circumvolabat super me fidelis *a longe* misericordia tua, Conf. 3, 3.

"Yes, moreover," "yes, indeed" is expressed in Classical Latin by *quin, quin etiam, quin potius*. Not until the Silver age in Pliny and Quintilian does *quin immo* appear for the above.[26] Our author uses *quin immo* once, thus: *quin immo* ubi me ille pater in balneis vidit pubescentem et inquieta indutum adulescentia, Conf. 2, 3.

Penitus for *omnino* is late Latin.[27] One example has been found in the Confessions: quis non videat, quid responsurus sit, qui non est *penitus* oblitus sui? Conf. 1, 13.

2. *Copulative Particles.*

a. Non-Correlative.

Et "and" is the most common particle of connection. It combines like and unlike things. Occasionally *et* is used adverbially with a change of person in the sense of "also" or "too"; in

[24] S. S. 616. [25] Salonius 218 ff. [26] K. S. I, 688. [27] K. S. II, 272.

Plautus and Terence, for example: curae est mihi. *Et* mihi curae est. In Cicero *et* appears in this usage, and also after adversative conjunctions such as *verum,* and after *nam* and *simul,* e. g. Cicero Off. 1, 133, sed *et* alii. *Et* meaning "also," "too," becomes common from Livy on. *Et* for *etiam* "still," "even," "yet," is not found in Classical Latin, but is frequent in Livy, Tacitus, and late Latin, e. g. *et ipse, et alius, nam et, sed et.*[28] Augustine manifests an absolute freedom in these later adverbial usages of *et.*

Examples of *et* meaning "also":

> ubi esset illa, ibi esset *et* me, Conf. 3, 11. placuit *et* Alypio renasci in te mecum, Conf. 9, 6. cur non sempiterna *et* creatura? Conf. 10, 11. quia *et* illius ipsae essent, Conf. 7, 6. nam *et* latina aliquando infans utique nulla noveram, Conf. 1, 14. ut possideat et me in te, quia fecit *et* me, Conf. 12, 15.

Examples of *et* for *etiam:*

> Quid hoc mihi proderat quando *et* oberat. Conf. 4, 16. ergo *et* hoc quaerendum, Conf. 6, 11. quia *et* illud nihil est, Conf. 2, 8. magis si *et* amantis corpore fruerer, Conf. 3, 1. exclusus *et* a siliquis porcorum, Conf. 3, 6. quemadmodum *et* me laudari vellem? Conf. 4, 14. sed augeat, fateor, non solum, sed *et* vituperatio minuit, Conf. 10, 37. ita *et* in ceteris sensibus, Conf. 10, 35. Cf. also 2, 6; 5, 2; 7, 3; 7, 20, passim.

Et very often takes on an adversative meaning. Passages are found in Plautus and Terence where *et* might easily be replaced by *autem, sed* or *et tamen.* Some instances appear in Caesar and in Cicero, chiefly in the philosophical writings and letters. It is of rare occurrence in the poets, more frequent in Nepos, Livy, Curtius, and Petronius, and exceptionally frequent in Tacitus.[29] Adversative *et* is found often in the Confessions. Examples:

> quoniam tu fecisti eum *et* peccatum non fecisti in eo, Conf. 1, 7. et non omnia senescunt *et* omnia intereunt, Conf. 4, 10. noluit nobiscum diu esse *et* non reliquit nos, Conf. 4, 12. et converti me ad animi naturam, *et* non me sinebat falsa opinio, . . . verum cernere, Conf. 4, 15. verum cernere. *et* inruebat in oculos ipsa vis veri, Conf. 4, 15. Cf. also 1, 4; 1, 16; 2, 4; 3, 1; 5, 3, passim.

In early Latin, here and there in Vergil, Livy, and Tacitus, we

[28] S. S. 495; K. S. I, 520 ff.; Draeger II, 30 ff.; Kühner Steg. II, 2, 8 ff.
[29] S. S. 494; Draeger II, 21; Salonius 334.

meet *nec* as equivalent to *non*. The same is true also of *neque*.[30] This usage of *nec* or *neque* for *non* is frequent in the Confessions. Examples:

> *neque* enim ea dirimere poteram, Conf. 5, 14. cui narro haec? *neque* enim tibi, deus meus, Conf. 2, 3. sive *nec* quid esset, Conf. 6, 5. At ego *nec* priora illa . . . esuriebam et sitiebam, Conf. 3, 6. at illa *nec* similia erant ullo modo tibi, Conf. 3, 6. quia *nec* succeditur ei, Conf. 4, 11. Cf. also 7, 11; 10, 20; 10, 26; 11, 15 passim.

Nec in the sense of "not even" for *ne-quidem* is apparently very rare in the Classical period. It occurs in ante-Classical Latin. It is found in Livy but most frequently in late Latin.[31] The following are from the Confessions:

> quoniam nemo mundus a peccato coram te, *nec* infans, cuius est unius diei vita super terram? Conf. 1, 7. *nec* ipse igitur Catalina amavit facinora sua, Conf. 2, 5. *nec* copiosus adactum inopia, Conf. 2, 4. quomodo enim beata vita, ubi *nec* vita? Conf. 4, 12. ista non fieri, *nec* ab eis qui sobrie facerent, Conf. 6, 2. non solum tibi sed *nec* universae creaturae tuae, Conf. 7, 13. *neque* enim desiderabam in illo tanto periculo baptismum tuum, Conf. 5, 9. At ego *nec* priora illa, sed te ipsam, Conf. 3, 6. et non pudet *nec* saltem sequi? Conf. 8, 8. quid te promeruerant, ut essent saltem informia, quae *neque* hoc essent nisi ex te? Conf. 13, 2.

Necdum for *nondum*, with the exception of the combination *necdum enim*, does not occur until the post-Classical period (in Tacitus H. 1, 31; Pliny Pan. 14, 2; Columella 10, 55 etc.), and even here it is very rare.[32] Note an instance from the Confessions: quoniam *necdum* mihi haec apostolica nota erant, Conf. 3, 4.

An *etiam* or *et* is often added to *quin* when *quin* is used in the sense of "yes" or "furthermore" to stress a foregoing thought. This additional *etiam* is rarely found in Classical Latin but is quite regular in Tacitus.[33] This combination occurs in the Confessions once in: *Quin etiam* quod ipsa aestate litterario labori nimio pulmo meus cedere coeperat, Conf. 9, 2.

Non saltem and *ne saltem* for *ne-quidem* is Silver Latin, and

[30] S. S. 336; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 817 ff.
[31] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 44; S. S. 637.
[32] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 818; S. S. 637.
[33] K. S. II, 458; S. S. 594 ff.

even in that period it is not frequently used. It appears more frequently in late Latin.[34] The two instances below appear in the Confessions:

> *non saltem* ut est quaedam defectiva species et umbratica vitiis fallentibus, Conf. 2, 6. Quamvis *nec saltem* septentrionum gyros noverit, Conf. 5, 4.

b. Correlative.

In poetic literature we occasionally find *neque . . . aut* for *neque . . . neque,* the *aut* taking over the negative meaning of *neque,* e. g. Statius Silv. 2, 3, 28 telum breve, quod *neque* flexis cornibus aut solito torquet stridore.[35] This poetic usage is represented in the Confessions as follows:

> *neque* creatorem eius novit *aut* diligit, Conf. 5, 4. *neque* enim dico recti aliquid hominibus, . . . aut etiam tu aliquid tale audis a me, Conf. 10, 2. *neque* enim se ipsa fecerat *aut* educaverat se ipsam, Conf. 9, 8. Quia *nec* ipsae coloratae sunt aut sonant *aut* olent *aut* gustatae *aut* contrectatae sunt, Conf. 10, 12.

Classical Latinity distinguished strictly for the most part between *aut* and *vel,* but later these terms were confused and became identical in meaning. As a result, we find the terms confused even when used correlatively, and this as early as the Augustan poets who use such combinations as *vel . . . aut, aut . . . vel, aut . . . ve,* etc.[36] Our author confuses the terms in the following:

> quando *aut* ubi *aut* quo *vel* a quo potest? Conf. 2, 6. ut pactum inter se civitatis *aut* gentis consuetudine *vel* lege firmatum nulla civis *aut* peregrini libidine violetur, Conf. 3, 8. *vel* invidendo sicut feliciori miserior *aut* in aliquo prosperatus ei, Conf. 3, 8. *vel* sola voluptate alieni mali . . . *aut* inrisores *aut* inlusores quorumlibet, Conf. 3, 8.

In the following passage we have *neque . . . aut . . . vel* for *neque . . . neque . . . neque:* neque enim nunc scrutamur plagas caeli, *aut* siderum intervalla demetimur, *vel* terrae libramenta quaerimus, Conf. 10, 16.

In the passages below, Augustine uses *nec . . . vel* and *neque*

[34] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 56; Svennung 156; K. S. II, 529.
[35] S. S. 502.
[36] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 110; S. S. 502.

. . . *ve* where we would expect *nec* . . . *nec:* *nec* mater mea *vel* nutrices meae sibi ubera implebant, Conf. 1, 6. *Neque* enim ulla anima umquam potuit poterit*ve* cogitare aliquid, Conf. 7, 4.

nec . . . *nec* would be expected for *non* . . . *aut* in the passage below: *non* enim vetabatur quisquam ingredi *aut* ei venientem nuntiari mos erat, Conf. 6, 3.

The correlatives *et* . . . *atque* are rarely found in Classical prose.[37] Note instances from the Confessions: *et* suspicionum *et* timorum *et* irarum *atque* rixarum, Conf. 3, 1. sed neque sicut in mente hominis *atque* memoria *et* sensibus *et* vegetante vita, Conf. 2, 6.

The combination *et* . . . *que* is first found in Cicero, and occurs rarely in all periods of Latinity.[38] The following example is cited from the Confessions: tu es *et* deus es dominus*que* omnium, Conf. 1, 6.

The correlatives *et* . . . *neque* or *nec* occur in Varro, frequently in Cicero, but they disappear after Cicero, being employed again in late Latin.[39] Augustine makes use of the combination thus: *et* bene mihi fiebat, *nec* faciebam ego bene, Conf. 1, 12.

The correlative construction *aliquando* . . . *aliquando* is a poetical and Silver Latin usage.[40] This usage appears in our treatise as follows:

> Sed id credebam *aliquando* robustius, *aliquando* exilius, Conf. 6, 5. ut id reminisci valeam *aliquando* cum aspernatione, *aliquando* cum desiderio, Conf. 10, 21. nam si et varie corpus *aliquando* movetur, *aliquando* stat, Conf. 11, 24. etiamsi *aliquando* illo simplo, *aliquando* isto duplo sol ab oriente usque orientem circuiret, Conf. 11, 23.

Non tantum . . . *sed* or *verum etiam* is seldom found in Cicero, and apparently only to vary style; never in Caesar and Sallust, but often in Hirtius, Ovid, Livy, and Curtius. It is a favorite usage with Silver Latin writers and late Latin authors.[41] Our author employs it thus:

[37] S. S. 498; Kühner Steg. II, 2, 37.
[38] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 36; Draeger II, 81.
[39] S. S. 499; Kühner Steg. II, 2, 49.
[40] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 70.
[41] K. S. II, 644; S. S. 508.

ut hoc confitear *non tantum* coram te secreta . . . *sed etiam* in auribus credentium filiorum hominum, Conf. 10, 4. quoniam dies dicitur *non tantum* mora solis super terram, . . . *sed etiam* totius eius circuitus ab oriente usque orientem, Conf. 11, 23. quandoquidem cantus est *non tantum* sonus *verum etiam* speciosus sonus, Conf. 12, 29.

Gibb and Montgomery [42] hold that the *tantum* and *quia* in the passage below are loosely used as correlatives with the meaning "inasmuch as," the phrase being evidently ironical: ut patienter sit posterior, sed *tantum, quia* propter illam meruit admitti, etiam praecurrere ac ducere conatur, Conf. 10, 33.

In Classical prose we would expect *non solum . . . verum etiam* for *non solum . . . verum quoque* in the following passage: et reprehendebam caecus pios patres, *non solum,* sicut deus iuberet atque inspiraret, utentes praesentibus, *verum quoque,* sicut deus revelaret, futura praenuntiantes, Conf. 3, 7.

3. *Disjunctive Particles.*

Vel as the equivalent of *saltem* or *veluti,* "even," "at all," "perhaps," "for instance," "at all events," is sometimes used in all periods of Latinity. The point of interest in this usage is its great frequency in all writers of Latin.[43] Augustine contributes many instances in the Confessions. Examples:

et nescio an vellem *vel* pro illo, Conf. 4, 6. sed eligens latere quam ita notus esse, et *vel* haberi odio quam sic amari, Conf. 4, 14. et ante omne, quod *vel* ante dici potest, Conf. 1, 6. aut quis ea conprehendit, *vel* cum praesto sunt? Conf. 4, 10. passus me fuerim *vel* una hora sedere in cathedra mendacii, Conf. 9, 2. Cf. also 8, 9; 9, 2; 9, 9; 9, 12; 10, 36 passim.

The interrogative particle *an* sometimes becomes a disjunctive conjunction meaning "or," "or possibly," "or perhaps." This usage is common in Cicero (though not in his speeches), in poetry, in Livy, but commonest of all in Tacitus and late Latin. Furthermore double questions are often parenthetically united into one by *an,* e. g. Livy 31, 29, 4: *an* imitari Romanorum licentiam *an* levi-

[42] Gibb and Montgomery 311.

[43] Lane 281; Bonnet 315; Salonius 344.

tatem dicammavultis? Such constructions led to a confusion of *aut* and *vel* and *an*.[44] Note *an* for *aut* in the following:

> dico vitam mortalem, *an* mortem vitalem? Conf. 1, 6. et ecce audio vocem de vicina domo cum cantu dicentis, et crebro repetentis, quasi pueri *an puellae*, nescio, Conf. 8, 12.

4. *Causal Particles.*

a. Explanatory.

Quippe was originally an interrogative particle "why," then it took on a causal force which is not uncommon in Cicero, and finally became a mere adverb. In Sallust, and especially in later writters, *quippe* is often synonymous with *enim* in meaning.[45] Only the following instances of *quippe* for *enim* appear in the Confessions:

> sed per eas erat: ex te *quippe* bona omnia, deus, et ex deo meo salus mihi inversa, Conf. 1, 6. Cum enim non satagerem discere quae dicebat, sed tantum quemadmodum dicebat audire—ea mihi *quippe* . . . inanis cura remanserat, Conf. 5, 14. Sed utrum per imagines an non, quis facile dixerit? nomino *quippe* lapidem, Conf. 10, 15.

b. *Conclusive.*

In early and Classical Latin *itaque* occupies the first place in the sentence. Lucretius is the first one to postpone it, then Cornificius and Horace. Later this post-positive position of *itaque* occurs frequently.[46] Augustine very often follows the example of later writers in this regard. Examples:

> tu *itaque*, domine deus meus . . . iubes me laudare te, Conf. 1, 7. cum *itaque* de facinore, Conf. 2, 5. nonnullus *itaque* dolor adprobandus, Conf. 3, 2. Cf. also 1, 11; 3, 3; 3, 9; 5, 10; 10, 4 passim.

Hinc employed as a purely conclusive particle is Silver Latin, being found in Tacitus, Quintilian, etc.; e. g. Lucilius 94 *hinc* hostis mi Albucius hinc inimicus (50). We have an instance in our treatise, thus: *Hinc* enim et mali substantiam quandam credebam esse talem, Conf. 5, 10.

[44] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 527; Gildersleeve-Lodge 497.
[45] Gildersleeve-Lodge 311; S. S. 505.
[46] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 130.

5. *Demonstrative and Exclamatory Particles.*

The exclamatory particle *ecce* serves to lead the trend of thought or the attention of one addressed to a certain fact or facts. It is a word best suited to colloquial speech. In the drama, especially comedy, the word is found frequently. Caesar never uses *ecce,* neither does Valerius Maximus or Suetonius. It appears more often in Sallust and Curtius, but only three times in Livy. It does not occur in the historical works of Tacitus. It is a favorite word with the poets. It is also found in letters, philosophical writings, and in the later epoch, especially in Christian literature, whence it passed over into the Romance languages. As a rule it is the first word in the sentence or clause, but is found also after *et, atque, nam, sed.* Even ante-Classical poets placed *ecce* in the middle of the sentence or clause, and later poets, e. g. Vergil, did likewise.[47] Augustine uses *ecce* very frequently in the Confessions, sometimes at the beginning of the sentence or clause, again after *et, atque, nam, sed,* but also in the middle of the sentence and after words other than *et, atque, nam, sed.* Note the following examples:

> quae in eis sunt, *ecce* undique mihi dicunt, Conf. 10, 6. sed quis adhuc sim, *ecce* in ipso tempore confessionum mearum, Conf. 10, 3. nos autem, domine, pusillus grex tuus *ecce* sumus, tu nos posside, Conf. 10, 36. si ergo tunc poterat, *ecce* puta altera coepit sonare, Conf. 11, 27. quorum *ecce* ante nos, Conf. 12, 14. et tamen *ecce* sum, Conf. 13, 1. et nunc *ecce* redeo, Conf. 12, 10. Cf. also 12, 24 passim. cum *ecce* adulescens, Conf. 6, 9. Nonne *ecce* pleni sunt, Conf. 11, 10. Cf. also 8, 6; 9, 3.

The combination of a demonstrative particle with a pronoun is colloquial usage and is found chiefly in comedy.[48] Note the following: non candorem lucis *ecce istum* amicum oculis, Conf. 10, 6.

The Accusative after *ecce* does not occur in Classical Latin. *Ecce* is followed by the nominative in Classical prose. The early language of the poets has the accusative after *ecce,* e. g. Plautus Cas. 2, 4, 26 *ecce me nullum canem.* Livy offers one instance, i. e.

[47] Cf. A. Kohler, "Die Particle *ecce,*" in *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie,* V, 1888, pp. 16-32.

[48] Cf. A. Kohler, "Die Particle *ecce,*" in *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie,* V, 1888, pp. 16-32.

7, 35, *ecce* autem aliud minus dubium.[49] Examples of *ecce* with the accusative in the Confessions are: *ecce istum amicum,* Conf. 10, 6. Cf. also Conf. 2, 4; 4, 6; 10, 35.

The exclamation of grief or fear *hei, ei,* meaning "ah," "woe!" frequently joined with *mihi* is not found in Classical Latin. Plautus and Terence employed the word, also Vergil and Ovid, e. g. Terence Heaut. 234 *ei misero mihi.*[50] Examples from the Confessions are: *ei mihi!* dic mihi per miserationes tuas, Conf. 1, 5. *Ei mihi!* et audeo dicere tacuisse te, Conf. 2, 3.

[49] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 273; Draeger I, 399 n.; Gildersleeve-Lodge 218; S. S. 360; K. S. I, 486.

[50] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 341; K. S. I, 647; Neue Wagner II, p. 981.

CHAPTER VI.

Tense and Voice of the Verb.

I. *Tense.*

A loss of the finer distinctions in the use of the tenses, characteristic of the Classical epoch, becomes evident in the Latin of the Fourth century A. D. The influence of colloquial speech as well as the idiom of foreign languages is responsible for this. Such variations from the Classical use of tenses as occur in the Confessions will be discussed below.

1. Confusion of Tenses.

Colloquial speech felt that it could use a present with more ease than a future tense, and thus colored the spoken language with a confusion of these two tenses. Such colloquialisms soon found their way into literature. In ante-Classical Latin this usage was confined to special verbs. In the Classical period it did not become widespread in the literature. Late Latin was a fertile field for this usage. Some late writers have their style more affected by colloquial speech than others in the employment of the tenses.[1] Augustine belongs to the more conservative authors in this regard. The colloquialism of a present for a future tense for instance is but slightly reflected in the Confessions. The following have been found:

> antemeridianis horis discipuli occupant; ceteris quid *facimus?* Conf. 6, 11. sed quando *salutamus* amicos maiores, quorum suffragiis opus habemus? Conf. 6, 11. quando *praeparamus* quod emant scholastici? Conf. 6, 11. quando *reparamus* nos ipsos relaxando animo ab intentione curarum? Conf. 6, 11.

The present subjunctive and the future indicative were originally identical in form and meaning. They gradually separated and functioned in different ways, yet traces of their original identity can still be observed in their use in colloquial speech, the present subjunctive being used for the future indicative.[2] The following

[1] Kaulen 193; Salonius 276; S. S. 484 ff.

[2] S. S. 475; Draeger I, 286.

is the only possible example that I have been able to find in the Confessions: quaeram te, domine, invocans te, et *invocem* te credens in te: praedicatus enim es nobis, Conf. 1, 1.

The pluperfect was rarely used for a simple past tense in the Classical period. The poets preferred the pluperfect for the sake of meter, and the pluperfect accordingly was used extensively by the Augustan poets and in prose after Livy for the simple past tenses. Popular speech too preferred the pluperfect as a simple past tense.[3] In the Confessions, Augustine rarely, if ever, makes this confusion. The following examples of the pluperfect seem to be equivalent to simple past tenses.

> *adamaveram* enim latinas, non quas primi magistri, sed quas docent qui grammatici vocantur, Conf. 1, 13. non enim videbam voraginem turpitudinis, in quam proiectus eram ab oculis tuis, Conf. 1, 19. Et anno quidem illo *intermissa erant* studia mea, Conf. 2, 3. et illa in Africam *redierat*, vovens tibi alium se verum nesciturum, Conf. 6, 15.

2. Compound Tenses.

The usual forms that make up the compound tenses employed in Classical diction are *sum, eram, ero.* However, from the very earliest period of the language certain changes began to appear: thus, *laudatus fui, fuerim, fueram, fuissem, fuero* for *laudatus sum, sim, eram, essem, ero.* These new forms rarely occur in Classical prose; for example, never in Cicero, probably only once in Caesar. In Sallust, however, they occur more frequently. They are particularly frequent in Livy and later authors.[4] Augustine is quite fond of these compound tense forms. Thus:

> Simul etiam narravit, se quoque parvulum a seducta matre sua *datum fuisse* Manichaeis, Conf. 3, 12. multi magni viri et imitatione dignissimi sapientiae studio cum coniugibus *dediti fuerunt*, Conf. 6, 11. cumque mirarentur illae, . . . numquam *fuisse auditum* . . . quod Patricius cediderit uxorem, Conf. 9, 9. nam et laetatum me *fuisse* reminiscor non laetus, Conf. 10, 14. scio Iohanem . . . hoc est lucustis in escam cedentibus, non *fuisse pollutum*, Conf. 10, 31. audieram enim de Antonio, quod ex evangelica lectione, . . . *admonitus fuerit*, Conf. 8, 12. *passus* me *fuerim* vel una hora sedere in cathedra mendacii, Conf. 9, 2. quando et ubi egerim quo-

[3] S. S. 487.

[4] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 165 ff.; Salonius 291 ff.; Grandgent 51.

que modo, cum agerem, *affectus fuerim*, Conf. 10, 8. sive quam numquam scierim sive quam sic *oblitus fuerim*, Conf. 10, 20.

The pluperfect compound tense with *fueram* instead of *eram* is exceedingly common in Livy. It occurs in Quintilian, Pliny, Columella, Suetonius, and in Apuleius, and henceforth becomes more frequent than *eram*.[5] Five instances of this usage occur in the Confessions, a comparatively small number for a late Christian writer:

nihil enim tale ab ineunte aetate *expertus fueram*, Conf. 9, 4. qua *fuerat seducta* ab Arrianis, Conf. 9, 7. si forte ille inconsideratius *commotus fuerat*, Conf. 9, 9. certe enim *obliti fueramus*, Conf. 10, 19. agitaveram corde *meditatusque fueram* fugam in solitudinem, Conf. 10, 43.

The pluperfect subjunctive with *fuissem* is seldom found even in later prose writers.[6] Our author has only two instances:

certum tamen erat, quod incerta essent et a me aliquando pro certis *habita fuissent*, Conf. 6, 4. ita servivit, quasi ab omnibus *genita fuisset*, Conf. 9, 9.

The future perfect with *fuero* is nearly always found in dependent clauses. It does not occur often in Classical literature, but is often found in Livy, and from then on in other later writers with increasing frequency.[7] Augustine uses this construction rather sparingly. Seven instances appear in the Confessions:

quod si *assecutus* non *fuero*, id tamen dicam, Conf. 12, 32. *completumque fuerit* verbum tuum, Conf. 13, 22. hoc ergo nec amissum quaerere poterimus, quod omnino *obliti* fuerimus, Conf. 10, 19. quam cum *agressi fuerimus* et quod praemeditabamur agere coeperimus, Conf. 11, 18. cum autem *finita fuerit*, iam non erit, Conf. 11, 27. quod cum *inventum fuerit*, ex imagine, quae intus est, recognoscitur, Conf. 10, 18. cum *cohibitae fuerint* affectiones ab amore saeculi, Conf. 13, 22.

Another form of compound tense is *habeo* or *teneo* with the perfect passive participle, with or without an object to indicate an existing condition that grew out of a completed action. This combination originated in popular speech and reached its culmination in Cicero and Caesar, e. g. Cato R. R. 5, 6, Boves maxima

[5] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 166.
[6] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 167.
[7] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 167.

diligentia *curatos habeto.* *Habeo* is used with such verbs as *cognitum, compertum, exploratum, perspectum,* etc. In Classical Latin it is equal to *mihi est.* Occasionally we find a few other verbs besides *habeo* and *teneo* so used, e. g. *gero* and *attineo* in Plautus Rud. 1144 and Truc. 837, *possideo* Cic. S. Rosc. 15; ibid. Verr. 3, 179. All these combinations approach very nearly the simple perfect in meaning. In late Latin *habeo* and *teneo* became so weakened in meaning that they were used in the sense of ordinary auxiliary verbs. They retained this meaning, and the Romance languages developed their perfect tense system from them. The Greek has a similar combination with ἔχω and an active participle, e. g. θαυμάσας ἔχω.[8] The late auxiliary usage of *habeo* and *teneo* with verbs that are apparently not used in the Classical period is not found frequently in the Confessions:

> cuius etiam capillos tu, domine, *numeratos habes* et non minuuntur in te, Conf. 4, 14. Sensi autem aliud genus hominum etiam veritatem *habere suspectam,* Conf. 5, 6. et quoniam bene *persuasum tenebat* ea . . . sine vitali et rationali creatura non fieri, Conf. 7, 19. quod uno modo *intellectum tenuerimus,* Conf. 13, 24.

In Livy, Tacitus, the poets, and late Latin, *forem* is simply equal to *essem.*[9] Augustine has only three instances of this late Latin form:

> quia videlicet post lavacrum illud maior et periculosior in sordibus delictorum reatus *foret,* Conf. 1, 11. et certe res non aliae *forent* nec homo ipse alius, Conf. 4, 14. si enim responderetur, aliquid fuisse nocituram, violabilis tu et corruptibilis *fores,* Conf. 7, 2.

Another type of compound tense is formed by the present active participle and *sum,* a sort of periphrastic conjugation. In general this form is seldom used in the Golden Age, unless the participle has taken over the meaning and construction of an adjective. This periphrasis is very common in late Latin.[10] Few examples have been found in the Confessions:

> non enim meliora eligens *inoboediens eram,* Conf. 1, 10. quando *absens erat,* Conf. 4, 4. inde fama *discurrens,* inde laudes tuae *ferventes, lucentes,* inde illius inimicae animus etsi ad credendi sani-

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[8] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 763 ff.; S. S. 462.
[9] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 167; S. S. 461.
[10] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 159; S. S. 459; Draeger I, 293; K. S. I, 54.

tatem non applicatus, a persequendi tamen furore conpressus est, Conf. 9, 7.

3. Verb Phrases.

The phrase *opus habere* is found once in Columella 9, 1, 5: ut graminibus, ita frugibus roburneis *opus habent.* Thereafter, the phrase appears only in late Latin, in Augustine, Jerome, etc.[11] Three examples only appear in the Confessions:

neque enim iam *opus habet* baptismo, quo gentibus opus est, sicut *opus habebat;* cum aquis tegeretur, Conf. 13, 21. nec isto igitur genere volatili, quod verbo tuo produxerant aquae, *opus habet* terra, quam fundasti super aquas, Conf. 13, 21.

Opus habere ut is an old Latin translation from I, Thessal. 5, 1 quoted in Ambrose's De Fide 5, 17, 213.[12] Augustine employs the construction once thus: an non *opus habes, ut* quoquam contineris, qui contines omnia, Conf. 1, 3.

II. *Voice.*

Comparatively few deviations from Classical usage are found in the Confessions in the use of the voice of the verb. The few syntactical changes discovered are the following:

1. Deponent Verbs; Passive Voice; Impersonal Use of the Verb.

Classical writers in general preferred the active to the passive voice, wherever a choice was possible. Already in the ante-Classical epoch deponent verbs took on active forms. This change developed from the use of a verbal adjective, e. g. *imitatus, usus,* as perfect participle, which could also be employed with a passive meaning.[13] Augustine does not violate Classical usage frequently in this regard.

The deponent verb *promereri* with the active form used transitively is confined to late Latin, and is also rare.[14] Our treatise has one instance of this use: ego autem resistebam illi exemplis eorum, qui coniugati coluissent sapientiam, et *promeruissent deum,* et habuissent fideliter ac dilexissent amicos, Conf. 6, 12.

The passive form of *gaudeo* used impersonally is first found in Augustine's sermons 9, 19,[15] sed quia *gaudetur,* (but one Ms.

[11] Salonius 263; K. S. II, 223.
[12] K. S. II, 223.
[13] S. S. 491.
[14] K. S. II, 398; Watson 280.
[15] Neue-Wagner, Vol. III, p. 46.

reads *gaudetis*). In the same passage *gaudeatur* is also so used, (but one Ms. reads *gaudeat*). The passive voice of *gaudeo* used impersonally has been found in the Confessions once: quando enim cum multis *gaudetur,* et in singulis uberius est gaudium, Conf. 8, 4.

In Classical Latin *videri* is generally used in the sense of "seem." Sometimes it is found in the sense of "to be seen," often so in Lucretius, occasionally in Cicero, Caesar, and Tacitus, but more often in late Latin.[16] *Videri* appears frequently in the sense of "to be seen" in the Confessions:

> neque enim potest *videri* id quod non est, Conf. 11, 17. sed eorum causae vel signa forsitan *videntur,* quae iam sunt, Conf. (11, 18) four times. Cf. also 10, 35; 10, 40; 12, 25; 13, 23.

The impersonal use of *disto* is rare in the Classical period, and usually confined to cases where it introduces an *utrum . . . an* clause. In T. L. L. this usage is cited once for Cicero Caecin. 39 *distare* aliquid . . . videatur, utrum; Horace, Pliny, Quintilian, Pomponius, Jerome, Augustine's Epistles, and Cod. Just.[17] In the following passage Augustine uses *distat* both personally and impersonally: et gaudium spei fidelis inconparabiliter *distat* ab illa vanitate. sed et tunc *distabat* inter nos, Conf. 6, 6.

The impersonal passive of *sacrificare* seems to be used rarely in the Classical period. It is cited thus in F. F. for Varro, Livy, and Pliny.[18] Augustine employs it so, as follows: et sanguine cordis matris meae per lacrimas eius diebus et noctibus pro me *sacrificabatur* tibi et egisti mecum miris, modis, Conf. 5, 7. Cf. also Conf. 4, 2.

2. Transitive Verbs used Absolutely.

Transitive verbs in Latin are ordinarily followed by a direct object in the accusative case. Common transitive verbs like *facere, amare, permittere,* etc., are sometimes used without an object and without modifying their transitive character. They are then said to be used absolutely, e. g. Cicero Cat. M. 15 a rebus gerendis *abstrahit* (sc. *homines*) senectus. The absolute use of the verb,

[16] K. S. 739; Watson 240.
[17] T. L. L. vol. V, p. 1538, l, 36-45; Gibb and Montgomery 149.
[18] F. F.

however, was restricted to a comparatively few verbs in the Classical period. This usage may be explained as due to a writer's desire for a certain stylistic effect as is often seen in verse. In late Latin this usage seems to occur frequently and with all verbs. In place of the object we find often in late Latin an adverbial phrase, e. g. *petere in montes.*[19] The absolute use of the verb is rare in the Confessions:

> colligens et non egens, *portans* et *implens* et *protegens,* creans et *nutriens, perficiens,* quaerens, cum nihil desit tibi . . . supererogatur tibi ut debeas, Conf. 1, 4. studiose audiebam *disputantem* in populo, Conf. 5, 13.

The Classical use is to construe *disputo* with the accusative of the neuter pronoun, or with *de* and the ablative. From Gellius on we have a direct object, as *aliquam rem,* or *in* and the accusative.[20] No instance is cited of the absolute use of *disputo* found here.

[19] Gabarrou 126; S. S. 632; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 95.
[20] K. S. I, 458.

CHAPTER VII.

Moods of the Verb.

A. *Indicative in Independent Clauses.*

1. Questions.

Utrumnam introducing a question of any kind is late Latin.[1] One instance of *utrumnam* introducing a rhetorical question with the indicative appears in the Confessions, thus: *Utrumnam* ab ore laudantis *intrat* in cor audientis amor ille? Conf. 4, 14.

B. *Subjunctive in Independent Clauses.*

1. Hortatory Subjunctive.

Hortatory subjunctive is a term sometimes restricted to the first person plural, the second and third persons coming under the heading of jussive subjunctive. However both constructions are identical. In negative exhortations or commands *ne, nemo, nihil, numquam,* etc., are the negative particles used, rarely *non* in the ante-Classical and Classical periods. *Non* becomes more frequent in the poets and post-Classical prose writers, and finally appears in the same sense as *ne.* In Classical Latinity *non* occurs only when the negation pertains to a certain word in the sentence other than the verb, e. g. Cicero Mil. 104 subeamus (poenas) non debitas.[2] The majority of Augustine's negative hortatory subjunctives in the Confessions have *ne,* but some have *non* modifying the verb as follows:

> *non* me *derideat* ab eo medico aegrum sanari, Conf. 2, 7. sed *non* eis *infigatur* glutine amore per sensus corporis, Conf. 4, 10. immo quaeramus diligentius et *non desperemus,* Conf. 6, 11. *non inrideat,* sed potius si est grandi caritate, pro peccatis meis fleat ipse ad te, Conf. 9, 12. *non* se *interponat* nec vi nec insidiis leo et draco, Conf. 9, 13. *non* itaque *dicamus* longum est, Conf. 11, 15. *non* ergo *dicamus* longum fuit praeteritum tempus, Conf. 11, 15. *non conturbetur* intentio mea, Conf. 11, 18. *non occidat, non moechetur, non furetur, non* falsum testimonium *dicat,* Conf. 13, 19.

[1] S. S. 471.

[2] S. S. 480; Lane 260; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 192; Bennet I, 166.

2. Optative Subjunctive.

In all periods of Latinity the optative subjunctive referring to the future is usually introduced by *utinam*. The negative is *ne*. Cicero uses *non* once in Att. 11, 9, 3. *Non* is sometimes found in the poets and prose writers of the post-Classical period. The Augustan poets, Silver and late Latin prose writers occasionally also introduce an optative subjunctive by *o si*.[3] The poetical *o si* for *utinam* and two instances of *non* for *ne* with the optative subjunctive are found in the Confessions:

> et *o si fatigentur* inedia et dicant, Conf. 9, 4. *o si viderent* internum aeternum, Conf. 9, 4. *o si cognoscant* se homines, Conf. 9, 13. *o si esset* hoc aut illud, Conf. 10, 8. *o si occidas* eos de gladio bis acuto, et *non sint* hostes eius, Conf. 12, 14. et *non avertar*, donec in eius pacem, Conf. 12, 16.

In Classical Latin *absit ut* is very rarely the equivalent of *tantum abest ut*. This usage is however found often in late Latin and especially in Ecclesiastical writers.[4] Augustine uses *absit ut* eight times in the Confessions:

> *absit ut* tu *falleres* eam in illis visionibus, Conf. 5, 9. *absit ut* ita *sit*, Conf. 6, 11. et *absit ut dicerem*, Conf. 7, 13. *absit* enim *ut . . . accipiantur*, Conf. 8, 4. sed *absit, ut* tu, conditor universitatis, conditor animarum et corporum, *absit ut* ita *noveris* omnia futura et praeterita, Conf. 11, 31. *absit ut . . .* beatum me *putem*, Conf. 10, 22. *absit ut* hoc *dicat* verbi tui, Conf. 13, 24.

Absit without *ut* is commonly used in many late writers, merely as an expletive, meaning "far be it." It stresses an already emphatic statement or exhibits the writer's deep feeling on a thought or trend of thought under consideration. The word is employed with more emphasis in late writers than was customary with the Classicists.[5] There are only two instances of this use of *absit* in the Confessions: *absit,* sed amante alio accenditur alius, Conf. 4, 14. *absit,* domine, *absit* a corde servi tui, qui confitetur tibi, Conf. 10, 22.

[3] S. S. 497; K. S. II, 571; Watson 317.
[4] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 238; Parsons, 177; K. S. I, 46.
[5] Parsons 177.

3. Potential Subjunctive.

Augustine follows the rules of Classical Latin very closely in his use of the potential subjunctive. One change among early Ecclesiastical writers in the expression of potentiality is with *forsitan, fortasse,* and *fortassis,* where moods other than those employed by the Classicists are used. *Forsitan* is regularly followed by the present or perfect subjunctive. Late Latin uses the indicative.[6] Our author has one instance with the subjunctive and one with the indicative. For the indicative to express potentiality, cf. Conf. 11, 18: id est quae futura sunt, sed eorum causae vel signa *forsitan videntur,* quae iam sunt: ideo non futura.

Fortasse appears in all periods of Latinity. It is usually construed with the indicative, seldom with the subjunctive.[7] Augustine has seven instances with the indicative and one with the subjunctive as follows: sed *fortasse* proprie *diceretur:* tempora sunt tria, Conf. 11, 20.

The form *fortassis* is almost entirely confined to pre- and post-Classical Latin.[8] It is construed like *fortasse* with the indicative. Augustine has two instances of *fortassis* to express potentiality, both with the indicative:

> si casu transeam, *avertit* me *fortassis* et ab aliqua magna cogitatione, Conf. 10, 35. etiamsi ille, per quem dicta sunt, unam *fortassis* ex multis veris sententiam cogitavit? Conf. 12, 32.

C. *Imperative Mood.*

Colloquial speech was partial to the future imperative. It is found often in Plautus and in legal phraseology.[9] Our author has only one instance of the future imperative, thus: tu *esto,* deus noster arbiter inter confessiones meas contradictiones eorum, Conf. 12, 16.

In ante-Classical Latin the imperative form *vide* with *ut* is used to express a positive command.[10] There is one instance in the Confessions as follows: *vide ut* illud in animo *habeas,* Conf. 10, 14.

In late Latin the indicative often takes the place of an impera-

[6] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 810; S. S. 481.
[7] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 813.
[8] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 812.
[9] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 196; S. S. 481 ff.
[10] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 205.

tive.[11] There is an example in the following: deinde nos intuens maerore attonitos: "*ponitis* hic" inquit "matrem vestram," Conf. 9, 11.

One of the three ways of expressing a prohibition or a negative command in Classical Latinity is *ne* with the perfect subjunctive. *Ne* with the present subjunctive is scarcely ever found in ante-Classical Latin, and in Classical Latin only occasionally in the letters of Cicero.[12] There are two instances in the Confessions where Augustine uses *ne* and the present subjunctive in a negative command. Furthermore the use of two consecutive negative commands, one introduced by *ne* and the other by *nec,* is not Classical. This combination is found in poets from Catullus on.[13] Note these two late constructions in the following passages from the Confessions:

> *ne* dona tua *deseras nec* herbam tuam *spernas* sitientem, Conf. 11, 2. nunc invocantem te *ne deseras,* Conf. 13, 1.

After verbs of wishing and willing an *ut* clause was added quite early in the development of the language. By analogy this construction soon followed other verbs, e. g. *spero* in Plautus, Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus; *iubeo* in poetry, Silver, and late Latin. *Dico* followed by an *ut* clause in the sense of an exhortation or a command appears in Cicero's Letters, once in Sallust, but this construction is mostly poetic, colloquial, and late Latin usage.[14] This usage of *dico* occurs in the Confessions in eight instances as follows:

> sed et caelum et terra et omnia, quae in eis sunt, ecce undique mihi *dicunt, ut* te *amem,* nec cessant *dicere* omnibus, *ut sint* inexcusabiles, Conf. 10, 6. *dixisti, ut fieret* caelum et terra, atque ita fecisti caelum et terram, Conf. 11, 6. unde transitoriam vocem faceres, qua *diceres ut fieret* caelum et terra, Conf. 11, 6. et fit, quidquid *dicis ut fiat,* Conf. 11, 7. et *dico* ei qui fecit te, *ut possideat* et me in te, Conf. 12, 15. qui *dixisti, ut congregarentur* aquae in congregationem unam, Conf. 13, 17. *dicit* dominus, *ut fiant* luminaria in firmamento caeli, *ut luceant* super terram, Conf. 13, 19. *dicat* ei *ut, . . . servet* mandata, Conf. 13, 19.

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[11] Koffmane 123.
[12] S. S. 478.
[13] S. S. 478.
[14] T. L. L. V, p. 986, 69 ff.; S. S. 576.

D. *Infinitive Mood.*

1. After Verbs.

In late Latin some of the infinitive uses have been replaced by other constructions, such as *quod, quia* and *quoniam* clauses. However the infinitive gained ground after certain verbs in which Classical authors have an *ut* clause. An extension of this use of the infinitive, often patterned after Greek models, began with the poets of the Augustan period and continued in the Silver and late epochs.[15] Augustine in his Confessions furnishes a number of examples of this extended use of the infinitive. Verbs of "wishing," "seeking," and the like with the infinitive are used as follows:

Elaboro with the infinitive first appears in Quintilian 3, 8, 58; *quaero* in Cicero Inv. 2, 77, but this instance is textually uncertain; otherwise this usage is poetical and post-Classical Latin.[16] Augustine has the following examples:

> qui eam tam perfecte *discere elaboravi,* Conf. 4, 3. quid a me *quaerunt audire* qui sim, Conf. 10, 3. sed tamen quis *quaerebat* Manichaeum nescio quem etiam ista *scribere,* sine quorum peritia pietas disci poterat? Conf. 5, 5.

The infinitive is used after verbs of thinking or purposing, daring, and concluding, e. g. *cerno* in ante-Classical Latin and occasionally in post-Classical Latin, and *mihi proposui* only in poetry and late Latin prose.[17] One example of each is used in the Confessions as follows: nutrierat filios totiens eos parturiens, quotiens abs te *deviare cernebat,* Conf. 9, 9. quandoquidem recte mihi *vivere puero* id *proponebatur* obtemporare monentibus, Conf. 1, 9.

The impersonal verb *vacat* "there is leisure" used with the infinitive occurs for the first time in prose in Cassius in Cicero's Fam. 12, 13, 2, quo minus tibi *vacet* me excipere; in poetry from Vergil on and in Silver Latin more frequently; *restat* so used is not classical, but poetical and Silver Latin usage.[18] There is one representation of each of these constructions in the Confessions,

[15] S. S. 424.
[16] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 667.
[17] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 668.
[18] K. S. II, 710; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 667 and II, 2, 242.

thus: non *vacat* Ambrosio, non *vacat legere,* Conf. 6, 11. cui *restat converti* ad eum, a quo facta est, Conf. 13, 4.

The following verbs are construed with the infinitive in ante-Classical Latin, in poetry, and in Latin prose from Livy on: *odi, abnuo, praeterio* (ante-Classical Latin), *erubesco, valeo, evaleo, tendo, gaudeo, sufficio, novi* (to know how).[19] All of these verbs are used similarly by Augustine, as follows:

> ergone amo in homine quod *odi esse,* cum sim homo? Conf. 4, 14. non quidem *abnueram conicere,* ac *dicere* quod nutanti occurrebat, Conf. 7, 6. nec *erubesco,* deus meus, *confiteri* tibi in me misericordias tuas et *invocare* te, qui non erubui tunc *profiteri* hominibus blasphemias meas, et *latrare* adversum te, Conf. 4, 16. For *erubesco* with the infinitive cf. also 2, 3; 8, 2. nec ullo suo sensu *valebat introire* in animam meam, Conf. 1, 6. aciem *figere non evalui,* Conf. 7, 17. For *valeo* with the infinitive, cf. also 1, 14; 10, 21; 12, 29. ergo cum oriuntur et *tendunt esse,* quo magis celeriter crescunt, Conf. 4, 10. at ille plus *gaudet* sibi *laudari* se quam ipsum donum *habere,* Conf. 10, 36. *gaudent* illi eum potissimum *occurrisse,* Conf. 6, 9. et si *sufficio* haec enuntiare, Conf. 11, 2. nam tunc *sugere noram* et *adquiescere* delectationibus, *flere* autem offensiones carnis meae, nihil amplius, Conf. 1, 6. non enim *amare* te *noveram,* qui nisi fulgores corporeos *cogitare* non *noveram,* Conf. 4, 2. et nihil *noverat respondere* mihi, Conf. 4, 4. For *novi* with the infinitive, cf. also (5, 10) twice; 6, 3; 5, 4; 9, 9; 10, 34; 10, 31.

The verbs *differo, dedignor, amo, mereor, affecto* with the infinitive are not used by the older poets such as Lucretius, Vergil, etc., but are so used by Horace, Ovid, and later poets, and by prose writers from Livy on.[20] These verbs with infinitive constructions are all paralleled in the Confessions, thus:

> *differt* tamen plerumque homo somnum *excutere,* Conf. 8, 5. For other examples of *differo* with the infinitive, cf. (8, 7), twice. non placeant vel displiceant nec *placere affectent* ceteris, Conf. 10, 39. sed ego *dedignabar esse* parvulus, Conf. 3, 5. *dedignantur* ab eo *discere,* Conf. 7, 21. quoniam ipsa esse vult et *requiescere amat* in eis, quae amat, Conf. 4, 10. sed *excusare* me *amabam,* Conf. 5, 10. quo per secreta iudicia tua superbia *meretur inludi,* Conf. 10, 42. *meruit inprobare,* Conf. 10, 31.

As a rule *peto* and *desidero* are followed by the accusative of a

[19] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 673 and 674.
[20] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 674 and 675.

substantive or *ut* with the subjunctive. The infinitive is rare in the Classical period.[21] These verbs appear rarely in the Confessions with the infinitive as follows:

> *petit videre* quid legissem, Conf. 8, 12. quam mihi optarem ac *desiderarem* abs te *dari* muneris, Conf. 12, 26.

The following list of verbs construed with the infinitive, also found in the Confessions is worthy of note: *tardo* (only in Augustine's Confessions 6, 11 [22]; *convico* (used by Livy 45, 10, 14, Tacitus A. 4, 31, Gellius 20, 1, 7, and other later writers; *reminiscor* (with accusative and infinitive, rare and poetical, in Lucretius 2, 89; Ovid M. I. 256 [23]; *impetro* (with infinitive or accusative and infinitive is found only in Tacitus Ann. 12, 27; Tertullian Ieiun. 7 and Ammianus 14, 1, 3 [24]; *piget* (in Horace Sat. 1, 4, 12; Tacitus Germ. 14, 14 and late Latin in Aug. Ep. 114, 2 [25]); *caveo* (ante-Classical and poetical Latin, in prose only in Sallust Jug. 64, 2; *ne* and the subjunctive being Classical [26]); *firmo* (in the sense of *constituo* or *confirmo* with the infinitive is late Latin [27]); *ambio* (found in Statius, Tacitus and late Latin [28]); *Accendo* (with the infinitive in Mart. Cap. 5, 437; Vict. Vit. 2, 13; Gregory of Tours, Hist. Franc. 8, 15 [29]); *satio* (with the infinitive; the only example cited in the dictionary gives *satio* with the subjunctive).

All these verbs with the infinitive construction are exemplified at least once each in the Confessions, as follows:

> *tardabam converti* ad Dominum, Conf. 6, 11. sicubi falsa *dixisse convinceretur*, Conf. 5, 5. quoniam talibus dicitur, qualem *me fuisse reminiscebar*, Conf. 9, 4. quo perductus *inpetravit admitti*, ut sudario tangeret feretrum, Conf. 9, 7. te si *piget imitari*, noli adversari, Conf. 8, 6. agebat autem illud prudentissime, *cavens innotes-*

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[21] Kühner Steg. II, 676.
[22] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 688.
[23] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 691.
[24] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 693; K. S. I, 693.
[25] K. S. I, 303.
[26] K. S. I, 269.
[27] T. L. L. vol. VI, p. 812, l. 16 ff.; Souter (1) 106.
[28] T. L. L. vol. I, p. 1850, l. 75 ff.
[29] T. L. L. vol. I, p. 277, l. 15 ff.

cere personis secundum hoc saeculum maioribus, Conf. 8, 6. paene iam *firmaveramus* remoti a turbis otiose *vivere* id otium sic moliti, Conf. 6, 14. quaeso te omnibus istis laboribus nostris quo *ambimus pervenire?* Conf. 8, 6. in psalmis illis . . . et *accendebar* eos *recitare* altitudinem consilii tui, Conf. 9, 6. nec *satiabar* . . . *considerare* altitudinem consilii tui super salute generis humani, Conf. 9, 6.

Dimittere in the sense of "allow," "permit," with the infinitive is first found in the Old Version of the Bible, then in Ecclesiastical writers, e. g. Aug. D. C. D., 22, 2; Ammianus Marcellinus, etc., and throughout late Latin.[30] Note the only passage found in the Confessions: nec *dimittebant redire,* ubi mihi satis esset bene, Conf. 7, 7.

Affixus lateri meo in the sense of "sitting by my side" is not Classical. *Sedere ad latus alicuius* is the model expression.[31] Note that Augustine in the Confessions, speaking of Alypius "sitting by his side," says: at Alypius *affixus lateri meo* inusitati motus mei exitum tacitus opperiebatur, Conf. 8, 11.

Sino and *credo* are followed by the infinitive and subject accusative in Classical prose. Augustine uses the subjunctive after these verbs: dicimus: *sine vulneretur* amplius, Conf. 1, 11. *credo* etiam graecis pueris Vergilius ita *sit,* Conf. 1, 14.

The infinitive after *dare* presents peculiarities. Plautus, Terence, Cato, Lucilius, Cicero, Livy, and medical writers use *bibere* after *dare.* Ecclesiastical writers construe *do* with the infinitive *manducare.* The poets extend this usage, due to Greek influence, and other infinitives appeared after *dare,* e. g. Vergil was partial to *dare habere* and *dare ferre.* When the infinitive after *dare* obtained a strong footing in the language, it soon began to assume a final meaning to express the direction or course of an action or movement. Synonyms of *dare,* e. g. *donare, reddere,* and finally other verbs of "requesting," "admonishing," "permitting," "commanding," etc., were used in similar constructions. This syntactical phenomenon then is mostly poetical, but occurs in prose from Livy on, being especially common in late Latin.[32] The following examples appear in the Confessions:

[30] T. L. L. vol. V, p. 1215, l. 55 ff.
[31] K. S. II, 10.
[32] S. S. 421; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 682.

quis mihi *dabit adquiescere* in te? Conf. 1, 5. et *da* mihi *circuire* praesenti memoria praeteritos circuitos erroris mei, Conf. 4, 1. et *dedisti* ea homini ex aliis de se *conicere*, Conf. 1, 6. For *dare* with the infinitive with a final meaning, cf. also (1, 6), twice; 10, 35; 11, 30; 11, 3; 13, 23; 13, 38. *admonitus redire* ad memet ipsum, Conf. 7, 10. posteaquam *admonitus quaerere* incorporem veritatem, Conf. 7, 20. cito *admoneas* . . . in te *adsurgere*, aut totum *contemnere* atque *transire*, Conf. 10, 35. quorum interiori oculo talia *videre donasti*, Conf. 12, 20. sicuti *donasti* me *facere*, deus salutis meae, Conf. 10, 35. venit[33] in mentum *quaerere* et *discutere* et *considerare*, Conf. 2, 8. et *eunt* homines mirari alta montium, Conf. 10, 8. qua esse et *vivere currat* in nos, Conf. 1, 6.

Satago followed by this infinitive construction is cited for Petronius, Commodianus, and the Vulgate.[34] There is one instance in the Confessions as follows: et *sategit* eum *lucrari* tibi, loquens te illi moribus suis, Conf. 9, 9.

It has been noted above that the use of the infinitive of purpose instead of the supine or other purpose constructions with verbs of motion becomes common in late Latin.[35] In the following instance from the Confessions this usage is still further extended, the infinitive depending on a verb denoting "rest at"[36]: et non *stabam frui* deo meo, Conf. 7, 17.

Cogere followed by the accusative and passive infinitive is rare in the Classical period.[37] One instance occurs in the Confessions as follows: quamvis iam nata *cogat se diligi*, Conf. 4, 2.

odi and an infinitive instead of *nolo* with an infinitive is poetical. The only instance in prose is Cicero Brut. 1, 16, 6.[38] This appears once in the Confessions: non amabam litteras et *me* in eas *urgeri oderam*, Conf. 1, 12.

Classical Latinity rarely employs the infinitive after *facere, ut* with the subjunctive being the usual construction. The authors of the Silver Age avoided this construction. It is poetical and especially of late Latin usage.[39] Note several examples that appear in the Confessions:

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[33] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 680.

[34] Benoit Goelzer.

[35] Goelzer (J) 370.

[36] Gibb and Montgomery 190.

[37] K. S. I, 292; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 694.

[38] K. S. II, 205.

[39] Draeger II, 416; K. S. I, 560; Goelzer (J) 373; Régnier 72.

pigrius me *faciebat* aliud *quaerere*, Conf. 5, 10. improbatio quippe haereticorum *facit eminere*, Conf. 7, 9. hos in se *requiescere facit*, Conf. 13, 4.

Augustine usually uses the infinitive after *iubeo* in conformity with Classical norms. The following examples in which *iubeo* is followed by *ut* and the subjunctive as in Plautus, Livy, Horace, Tacitus, and Late Latin, occur in the Confessions:[40]

hi sunt servi, tui, fratres mei . . . quibus *iussisti ut serviam*, Conf. 10, 4. *sentiebam iuberi*, ut *crederetur* quod non demonstrabatur, Conf. 6, 5. *Iubes ut adprobem*, si quis dicat tempus esse motum corporis? Conf. 11, 24. *Iubes* certe, *ut contineam* a concupiscentia carnis, Conf. 10, 30. unde *iussisti, ut scriberetur*, Conf. 12, 3. statim existeret quod *iussum est ut existeret*, Conf. 12, 27. *iubes* oculo, *ut non audiat*, et auri *ut non videat*, Conf. 10, 7.

Ut non in this construction as in the last example is not found before the fourth century.[41]

Iubeo followed by a purpose clause introduced by *quo* without a comparative for the accusative and the infinitive is poetical, Silver, and Ecclesiastical Latin.[42] Only one instance has been found in the Confessions in: *iussisse* illum *quo* secura *esset*, Conf. 3, 11.

In the pre-Classical period *volo* is often followed by *ut* and the subjunctive instead of the infinitive. This does not occur often in the Classical age except after the forms *velim* and *vellem*.[43] There are eight instances in the Confessions of *volo* not in the present and imperfect subjunctive with *ut* and the subjunctive:

poteram . . . uti litteris, quas *volebant ut discerem*, Conf. 1, 10. qui *voluisti, ut* hoc *recordarer* et *confiterer* tibi, Conf. 6, 6. quod ab Aegypto *voluisti ut auferret* populus tuus, Conf. 7, 9. unde mihi *ut proferret volebam*, Conf. 8, 1. se autem *ut lateat* aliquid non *vult*, Conf. 10, 23. *voluisti ut dicerem*, Conf. 13, 25.

Nolo with *ut* and the subjunctive is very rare in Classical Latin. The Confessions present but one instance of this: verum tamen *nollem, ut* vel *augeret* mihi gaudium, Conf. 10, 37.

Oportet with *ut* is a late Latin usage.[44] The two examples below

[40] S. S. 576.
[41] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 718.
[42] S. S. 513.
[43] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 713; Gildersleeve-Lodge 335.
[44] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 236.

appear in the Confessions: ubi *oportet ut dicam,* Conf. 10, 20. *oportebat ut haberet* aliquid simile deo, Conf. 10, 42.

Opus est (there is need) with *ut* is ante- and post-Classical usage.[45] One instance occurs in Augustine: non *opus esset, ut . . . operarentur,* Conf. 13, 20.

Necesse est and *cupio* with *ut* is rarely found in Classical diction.[46] Our author has only one instance of each: quasi *necesse esset,* ut adhuc *sordidarer,* Conf. 1, 11. *cupiebam ut . . . viderem,* Conf. 9, 10.

Blandior followed by *ut* is probably found only in Livy.[47] Note the one passage in Augustine's Confessions: honeste *blandiens, ut venirem* neque *dubitarem,* Conf. 8, 11.

We very seldom find *dubito* meaning "to hesitate" followed by an infinitive in positive sentences.[48] Augustine uses this construction once in the Confessions in: et *dubitamus pulsare,* quo aperiantur cetera? Conf. 6, 11.

Dubito in the sense of "to doubt" with the subject accusative and infinitive is rarely found in the Classical period, but oftener in late Latin. This construction occurs once in the Confessions, as follows: faciliusque *dubitarem vivere me,* quam non esse veritatem, Conf. 7, 10.

Impero followed by the infinitive is ante-Classical Latin, very rarely so used in the Classical and post-Classical periods, but oftener in late Latin.[49] Only one instanec has been found in the Confessions: unde adparet, sancte deus, te dare, cum fit quod *imperas fieri,* Conf. 10, 31.

In Classical Latinity we would expect the infinitive after *festino. Ut* with the subjunctive after *festino* is cited for Cic. Att. 14, 21, 1 and his Epistles, Tacitus, Min. Felix, Justinian, Ammianus and Horace.[50] The Confessions present only one example of this usage· eo magis *festinant, ut non sint,* Conf. 4, 10.

[45] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 236.
[46] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 236 and 225.
[47] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 217.
[48] K. S. I, 475.
[49] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 682.
[50] T. L. L. vol. VI, p. 620, l. 5.

2. Infinitive After Adjectives.

In poets and later prose writers, the infinitive is used after many adjectives and participles where Classical prose would have the genitive of the gerund, *ad* with the accusative of the gerund, the supine in *-u, qui* with the subjunctive or no verbal form at all.[51]

In poetry and late Latin, e. g. Tertullian, *idoneus* is followed by an infinitive instead of a *qui* clause with the subjunctive.[52] This poetical and late Latin construction also appears in the Confessions once: non est absurdus, si modo est *idoneus discernere,* Conf. 12, 29.

Impatiens with the infinitive is late Latin, being cited only for C. Silius (101 A. D.) 2, 382 and C. Claudianus (400 A. D.) Rapt. Pros. 135.[53] Augustine uses this construction once as follows: portabam enim concisam et cruentam animam meam, *inpatientem portari* a me, Conf. 4, 7. The infinitive after *potens* is found in Q. Ennius Ann. 333; M. Manilius (12 A. D.), and the Digesta 16, 2, 10.[54] Our author has this construction once: tibi confiteor, domine deus meus, . . . et multum *potens formare* nostra deformia, Conf. 9, 6.

Impotens with the infinitive is cited only for Horace C. 1, 37, 10 (impotenti animo sperans).[55] Our author uses this form evidently as a circumlocution for some form of *possum,* thus: an *inpotens* erat totam vertere et *commutare,* Conf. 7, 5.

3. Other Uses of the Infinitive.

A favorite construction of late Latin writers is the personal use of the passive of *deprehendere* with the infinitive.[56] The present treatise presents one instance: itaque cum de caelo ac stellis et de solis ac lunae motibus falsa *dixisse deprehenderetur,* Conf. 5, 5.

The combination in Greek of the infinitive with the article used substantively caused the Latin to use a similar construction. Popular speech particularly was instrumental in forcing this usage into literary Latin, at first with pronominal modifiers, e. g.

[51] K. S. I, 675; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 683 and 685.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 685.
[54] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 684.
[55] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 684.
[56] K. S. II, 144.

Plautus Curc. tuom amare, and Cicero, Att. 7, 11, 2 *hoc ipsum velle.* In Classical Latin this Greek idiom is almost entirely confined to philosophical writings; similarly the infinitive used as a subject, object, or in apposition with neuter pronouns and nouns is found chiefly in the philosophical writings of Cicero. It is not surprising that Cicero in his letters to Atticus, who was intimately acquainted with the Greek language and literature, would say (13, 21, 3) *inhibere illud tuum,* quod valde mihi adriserat, vehementer displicet, or (7, 11, 2) *hoc ipsum velle* miserius esse duco. In all his other letters only one instance occurs, viz. Ep. 15, 15, 2, and none at all in his orations. Cicero had good reasons for not using this construction in the Forum and the Curia, because it was not a recognized literary Latin usage, not occurring in Caesar, Sallust and Livy.[57] Note *velle* and *videre* used substantively with a pronominal modifier in: *velle meum* tenebat inimicus, Conf. 8, 5. sicuti est domine, *videre* nostrum, quod nondum est nobis, Conf. 13, 15.

In the following we have the predicate nominative use of the infinitive:

> cui non *hoc* est *vivere,* Conf. 13, 4. unde igitur suavis *fructus* de amaritudine vitae carpitur *gemere* et *flere* et *suspirare* et *conqueri?* Conf. 4, 5. *alia* erant, quae in eis amplius capiebant animum, *conloqui* et *conridere,* et vicissim benivole *obsequi;* simul *legere . . . nugari* et *honestari; dissentire . . . condire . . . docere . . . discere . . . desiderare . . . suscipere* venientes cum laetitia: *flagrare* animos et ex pluribus unum *facere,* Conf. 4, 8.

For other uses of the moods see chapter on subordinate clauses.

[57] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 666; S. S. 419; E. Wölfflin, "Substantivierte Infinitiv" in *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie,* vol. III (1886), p. 70 ff.

CHAPTER VIII.

Subordinate Clauses.

1. *Indirect Questions.*

In conformity with popular speech, which allowed itself many licenses with regard to the coordination of sentences, Augustine very frequently employed the indicative in indirect questions.

In Ante-classical Latin an expression like *dic quid est* was looked upon as two independent sentences. Parataxis rather than syntaxis prevailed, in the terms of the grammarian. Not until the Classical period did writers regard the indirect question as being always subordinate and hence to be construed with the subjunctive. This variation of construction resulted in the authors of the later periods using the subjunctive and indicative indifferently in indirect questions. In the Classical period the subjunctive was the rule; in post-Classical Latin the subjunctive still outweighed the indicative. Poets like Ovid, Vergil, Catullus, Tibullus, Lucan, etc., sometimes use the indicative for metrical purposes. Late Latin uses the indicative more often than the subjunctive.[1] Judging from the Confessions, Augustine is more Classical in this respect than most of his contemporaries, since the subjunctive in indirect questions by far outnumbers the indicative. He has approximately one hundred and twenty instances with the subjunctive and only thirty-five with the indicative. In his D. C. D. the indicative occurs only six times.[2] Note examples of indirect questions with the indicative from the Confessions:

> Quid autem erat causae, *cur* graecas litteras *oderam*, . . . ne nunc quidem mihi satis exploratum est, Conf. 1, 13. et vide, quemadmodum se *concitat* ad libidinem, Conf. 1, 16. dicat tibi nunc ecce cor meum, *quid* ibi *quaerebat*, Conf. 2, 4. non enim satis eloquor, *quid* erga me *habebat* animi et *quanto* maiore sollicitudine me *parturiebat* spiritu, Conf. 5, 9. cur quaeritur, *quid* tunc *faciebas?* Conf. 11, 13. Cf. also 5, 14; 7, 3; 7, 5; 7, 7; 8, 1 passim.

[1] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 448 ff; S. S. 516; Draeger II, 460.

[2] Colbert 49.

Si used to introduce an indirect question is very rare in Classical Latin, but is found more frequently in late Latin. Greek has a similar construction with εἰ.[3] There is one instance in the Confessions: tunc vero fortiter intendi animum, *si* quo modo *possem* certis aliquibus documentis Manichaeos convincere falsitatis, Conf. 5, 14.

There was no distinction made between *quis* and *qui* in indirect questions in colloquial speech. The terms are confused in ante-Classical and post-Classical Latin, but seldom in the Classical period.[4] Augustine confuses the terms in the following where he uses *qui* for *quis:* quid a me quaerunt audire *qui sim,* qui nolunt a te audire qui sint? Conf. 10, 13.

Not until the Vulgate and late Latin do we meet *utrumnam* introducing an indirect question.[5] Augustine has one example thus: cogitare coepi, *utrumnam solerent* pueri in aliquo genere ludendi cantitare tale aliquid, Conf. 8, 12.

2. *Causal Clauses.*

In Augustine as in all late Latin authors *quia* is used far more frequently than any of the other introductory causal particles. *Quod* is the usual causal particle in Classical Latin. Caesar, e. g., uses *quia* only once, B. Civ. 3, 30, 4. Livy employs *quia* and *quod* indiscriminately to vary his style. From Tacitus on *quia* is used more and more extensively. In Classical and Silver Latin the indicative is the mood used with *quia* except in indirect discourse and conditional sentences. Late Latin prose often employs the subjunctive where Classical Latin would have the indicative.[6] Augustine in the Confessions has over 200 instances of the indicative in causal clauses introduced by *quia* and about one-fifth of that number with the subjunctive. In all these examples Augustine is very careful to keep the Classical distinction in the use of the indicative and the subjunctive moods.

Approximately thirty-eight *quod* causal clauses with the indicative and thirty-two with the subjunctive have been found in the

[3] S. S. 519.
[4] S. S. 517.
[5] K. S. II, 709; S. S. 471.
[6] S. S. 544; Kühner Steg. II: 2, 382 ff and 541; Juret (2) 160.

Confessions. In Classical and post-Classical Latinity causal *quod* was used with the subjunctive only in actual or implied indirect discourse. In late Latin however we often find the subjunctive taking the place of the indicative.[7] Augustine always adheres to Classical usage with regard to the mood employed.

Causal clauses introduced by *nisi quia* seldom occur in the ante-Classical and Classical times, and not at all in Caesar. Through the influence of Biblical Latin *nisi quia* was employed more extensively by late Latin writers.[8] Fifteen instances have been found in the Confessions:

> non ob aliud, *nisi quia* non *licebat?* Conf. 2, 6. unde hoc, *nisi quia* erant aures tuae ad cor eius, Conf. 3, 11. nam unde me . . . dolor ille penetraverat, *nisi quia fuderam* in harenam animam meam, Conf. 4, 8. et nulla natura est, *nisi quia nosti* eam, Conf. 7, 4. cum ametur beata vita quae non est nisi gaudium de veritate? *nisi quia* sic *amatur* veritas, Conf. 10, 23. quare . . . dixi "ita est, verum est," *nisi quia* iam erant in memoria, Conf. 10, 10. et unde hoc valeret, *nisi quia* tu *fecisti* eam? Conf. 11, 5. quid enim est, *nisi quia* tu es? Conf. 11, 5. Cf. also Conf. 11, 5; 11, 8; 11, 14; 11, 23; 11, 27; 11, 28; 13, 2.

Causal *dum* appears in all Latin epochs with the indicative mood. Late Latin uses the subjunctive.[9] Nine instances of causal *dum* have been found in the Confessions, all with the indicative except the following: sibi me posueram . . . *dum nollem* me adtendere, Conf. 8, 7.

Quando in a causal sense has been found sixteen times with the indicative and once with the subjunctive by attraction. This syntactical phenomenon presents no difficulty except that mention may be made of the fact that *quando* was less frequently used as a causal particle in Classical Latinity than *quod* and *quoniam.* The same may be said of *quando-quidem* (not in Cato, Varro, Caesar, Sallust, Nepos, seldom in Silver Latin)[10] which occurs in five passages with the indicative in accordance with Classical usage. Causal *quoniam* has been found 120 times, with the indicative only, which is in conformity with the diction of the Golden

[7] S. S. 541; Juret (2) 161.
[8] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 416; S. S. 544.
[9] S. S. 558.
[10] S. S. 556.

age. *Praeterquam quod* which is not so frequent as an introductory causal particle has been found but once and with the indicative (cf. 1, 6).

Sicut with the indicative has the meaning of "since" once or or twice in Plautus.[11] One passage of causal *sicut* and the indicative has been found in the Confessions: ita iam credebam, et illa, et omnis domus, nisi pater solus, qui tamen non evicit in me ius maternae pietatis, quominus in Christum crederem, *sicut* ille nondum *crediderat,* Conf. 1, 11.

In ante-Classical Latin causal *cum* was used in the same sense as *quia* and *quod* and usually took the indicative. In the Classical period a *cum* causal clause with the indicative is rare.[12] There are forty-eight instances of *cum* causal clauses with the subjunctive and the following with the indicative:

> damnantur, *cum* saepe se aliter *habet* species facti et aliter facientis animus atque articulus occulti temporis, Conf. 3, 9. ipsi vere mali sunt, *cum* ista mala *sentiunt,* Conf. 8, 10. mendacem faciemus dominum, *cum* de animo conservi aliter quam ille docuit *opinamur,* Conf. 12, 25. sublimioris enim auctoritatis est tua divina scriptura, *cum* iam *abierunt* istam mortem illi mortales, Conf. 13, 15. videris, quia bona sunt opera tua, *cum* tibi placuerunt, Conf. 13, 29.

3. *Purpose Clauses.*

As a rule a purpose clause takes the subjunctive with *ut* if affirmative, and *ne* if negative. *Ut non* is used when the negative belongs to a single word.[13] Our author has passages in the Confessions where he uses *ut non* for *ne,* negativing the entire clause, thus:

> eunt enim quo ibant, *ut non sint,* Conf. 4, 10. revertamur iam, domine, *ut non evertamur,* Conf. 4, 16. sed fugerunt, *ut non viderent* te videntem se, Conf. 5, 2. augebis, domine, magis magisque in me munera tua, . . . *ut non sit* rebellis sibi, Conf. 10, 30. an dicturus sum ad hoc inesse oblivionem in memoria mea, *ut non* obliviscar? Conf. 10, 16. et ibi est et non vident eum, *ut non eant* longius, Conf. 10, 34.

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[11] Lane 335.

[12] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 346 and 348.

[13] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 209 and 232; Juret (2) 158.

In Classical Latinity, positive purpose clauses followed by negative purpose clauses are introduced by *ut . . . neve* (*neu*) or the forms that are rarely found in ante-Classical Latin, but often from Cicero on, viz. *ut . . . neque* (*nec*).[14] Augustine uses *ut . . . et non* as follows:

> nam tu semper aderas misericorditer saeviens, . . . *ut* ita *quaererem* sine offensione iucundari, *et . . . non invenirem* quicquam praeter te, domine, Conf. 2, 2. et statui tolerare illos, *ut* sollemniter *abscederem, et* redemptus a te iam *non redirem* venalis, Conf. 9, 2.

If a negative purpose clause is followed by another negative purpose clause, *ne . . . neve* are the introductory words in ante-Classical and Classical Latin.[15] Our author has *ne . . . et non* thus: et instabas . . . *ne* rursus *cessarem et non abrumperetur* id ipsum exiguum, Conf. 8, 11.

A purpose clause without a comparative and introduced by *quo* very rarely occurs in the Latin of the Golden Age. We find it occasionally in Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Sallust and Ovid. In the post-Classical period, from Tacitus on, this usage is employed frequently.[16] Our author in the Confessions uses *quo* to introduce a purpose clause without a comparative in the following passages:

> maxime matre dante operam, *quo* me iam coniugatum baptismus salutaris ablueret, Conf. 6, 13. et ebriosi quaedam salsiuscula comedunt, *quo fiat* molestus ardor, Conf. 8, 13. rogabam te . . . *quo sanares* dolorem meum, Conf. 9, 12.

Ne or *ut ne* with the subjunctive is the Classical construction with *caveo*. It takes the infinitive in ante-Classical Latin, poetry, and late Latin.[18] Augustine has the following instance: quam *cavebam,* si facerem, non facientibus *invidere,* Conf. 1, 19.

4. *Subjunctive after Verbs of Fearing.*

After verbs of fearing, e. g. *timeo, metuo, vereor,* etc., the subjunctive is used with *ne* in affirmative, and *ne non, ne nullus, ne nemo,* etc., or *ut* in negative clauses. In ante-Classical Latin, verbs

[14] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 210.
[15] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 211.
[16] S. S. 597; Kühner Steg. II, 2, 233; Lane 344; Juret (2) 158.
[18] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 667.

of fearing were frequently followed by the infinitive. *Timeo* was construed with the infinitive in ante-Classical Latin, in Cicero (rarely), in Livy, and late Latin; and likewise *formido* in the ante-Classical period, and again in Horace and later authors; and *metuo* in pre-Classical times, then in Livy, Curtius, and later composers.[19] This construction appears several times in the Confessions:

> ubi magis *timebam* barbarismum *facere,* quam cavebam, si facerem, Conf. 1, 19. sicut evenire assolet, ut malum medicum expertus etiam bono *timeat* se *committere,* Conf. 6, 4. trahebam catenam meam, *solvi timens,* Conf. 6, 12. *timetque negari* a Christo coram angelis sanctis, si eum *timeret* coram hominibus *confiteri,* Conf. 8, 2. et impedimentis omnibus sic *timebam expediri,* quemadmodum *impediri* timendum est, Conf. 8, 5. et quasi mortem *formidabat restringi* a fluxu consuetudinis, Conf. 8, 7. utrum non *formidaret* tam longe a sua civitate corpus *relinquere,* Conf. 9, 11. et ideo fonte *mori metuebam,* Conf. 4, 6. *metuebam* itaque *credere* incarnatum, Conf. 5, 10. quando id *subire metuebam.* Conf. 10, 36.

Revereor, the compound of *vereor,* is an ante- and post-Classical word. Augustine uses the infinitive after this compound also: amicos enim suos *reverebatur offendere,* superbas daemonicolas, Conf. 8, 2.

5. *Clauses with Quin and Quominus.*

Classical Latinity uses *quin* and the subjunctive after verbs of doubting, when they are negative (*non dubito*). The accusative and the infinitive in this construction does not occur in Caesar and only once in Cicero. It occurs, however, in Nepos, often in Livy though not as frequently as *quin,* but especially throughout Silver and late Latin, particularly in Ecclesiastical writers.[20] Only the following were found in the Confessions:

> faciliusque *dubitarem vivere* me, quam non esse veritatem, Conf. 7, 10. *neque* ullo modo *dubitabam esse,* cui cohaererem, Conf. 7, 17. quam *non dubitant dicere* beatas esse se velle, Conf. 10, 23. verum *eum vidisse* apteque id *enuntiavisse non dubitem,* Conf. 12, 24.

Affirmative *dubitare, dubitum esse,* "to doubt," "to be uncertain," does not take *quin* in the Classical language, but is followed

[19] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 255; S. S. 423.
[20] S. S. 428; Kühner Steg. II, 2, 264.

only by the interrogative particles *-ne, num, utrum . . . an* or by some other particle of an indirect question; even *dubito num* is only Silver Latin usage. *Non ambigitur* (to doubt) with the accusative and infinitive occurs in Livy, Tacitus, Ammianus, and late Latin.[21] In the Confessions there is one instance of *dubito* so used with the infinitive, and one with the accusative and infinitive after *ambigo,* thus: quis *dubitet esse faciendum,* quando ea iusta est societas hominum, Conf. 3, 9. quod tamen *deum fecisse* nec sana fides nec certus *ambigit* intellectus, Conf. 12, 22.

The verb of hindering *impedire* as a rule is followed by *quominus* and the subjunctive. The infinitive is rare.[22] There is one instance in our work, as follows: nec video, quid *impediat* ita me *sentire* dicta figurata librorum tuorum, Conf. 13, 24.

6. *Clauses of Result.*

The Confessions offer but few variations from Classical norms in clauses of result. Characteristic of Silver Latin is *nisi ut* to *introduce* a consecutive clause where *nisi* serves to form an affirmation with a negative in the main sentence.[23] Augustine has eight instances of this Silver Latin construction thus:

> et quid agebam, cum inridebam eos, *nisi ut inriderer* abs te, Conf. 3, 10. et quid a te petebat, . . . *nisi ut* navigare ne non *sineres?* Conf. 5, 8. non arbitror aliam ob causam te permisisse, deus noster, *nisi ut* ille . . . iam *inciperet* discere, Conf. 6, 9. nullam ob aliam causam Mediolanium venerat, *nisi ut* mecum viveret, Conf. 6, 10. nihil aliud interpretans divinitus mihi iuberi, *nisi ut aperirem* codicem et legerem, Conf. 8, 12. non ob aliud iste nolit, *nisi ut* beati *sint,* Conf. 10, 21. quem non oportebat aliter commemorari, *nisi ut* superferri diceretur, Conf. 13, 6. cur ergo eum aliter insinuari non oportebat, *nisi ut* superferri *diceretur?* Conf. 13, 6.

7. *Temporal Clauses.*

Temporal *quando* appears frequently in Plautus. It is not used in Terence. In Cicero and later Latin writers it occurs only occasionally. Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, and Pliny avoid

[21] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 265 ff.
[22] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 689.
[23] S. S. 574.

temporal *quando*. The mood is the indicative.[24] This syntactical construction occurs rather frequently in the Confessions, thirty passages having been found. Examples:

> ubi aut *quando* innocens fui, Conf. 1, 7. quoniam firmitas nostra *quando* tu *es*, tunc est firmitas, Conf. 4, 16. et ubi ego eram, *quando* te *quaerebam?* Conf. 5, 2. quid autem mirum, . . . *quando* mihi imitandi *proponebantur* homines, Conf. 1, 18. Cf. also Conf. 4, 4; 6, 3; 8, 10; (9, 4) twice; 9, 9; 9, 11; (10, 8) twice; (10, 21) three times; 10, 16 passim.

The forms *dum* and *quoad* in the sense "until" are construed with the present or imperfect subjunctive in temporal clauses implying an expected event and with the indicative for a definite fact. In the course of the later development of the language these finer distinctions were lost sight of and the subjunctive was often used where we would expect the indicative. *Donec* is similarly used, but occurs rarely in Cicero, not in Caesar and Sallust. The indicative is the mood after *donec,* i. e. in Classical Latin it was used only with clauses of fact. The subjunctive (present occurs once in Plautus) after *donec* (until) is only pre- and post-Classical, particularly from Livy on, especially in Tacitus.[25] In Augustine *donec* in the sense of "until" by far surpasses *dum* and *quoad* in frequency. There are twenty-seven instances of temporal *donec* (until) with the present, and seven with the imperfect subjunctive, as follows:

> et inquietum est cor nostrum *donec requiescat* in te, Conf. 1, 1. a Caritate matre sustinetur, *donec assurgat* novus homo in virum perfectum, Conf. 5, 5. a parentibus positus eram, *donec inveniatur* perspicua veritas, Conf. 6, 11. et omnes bonae sunt . . . *donec eligatur* unum, Conf. 8, 10. respuimus, *donec* illud *occurrat* quod quaerimus, Conf. 10, 19. tamdiu nescio, *donec fiant* tenebrae meae sicut meridies in vultu tuo, Conf. 10, 5. et quaeritur, *donec reddatur* aspectui, Conf. 10, 18. laboramus, *donec simus* iustitia tua, Conf. 13, 2. spera et persevera, *donec transeat* nox, mater iniquorum, *donec transeat* ira domini, Conf. 13, 14. For *donec* with the subjunctive, cf. also Conf. (10, 18), twice; (10, 19), three times; 10, 38; 11, 22; 11, 24; (11, 27), twice; 11, 28; 11, 29; 12, 16; 12, 27; 13, 14; 13, 8; 13, 18.

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[24] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 365; Draeger II, 582.

[25] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 380; Lane 351; S. S. 568.

Note the imperfect subjunctive after *donec* (until):

> statui ergo . . . , *donec* aliquid certi *eluceret*, Conf. 5, 14. amicum nolle deserere, *donec* vento facto *navigaret*, Conf. 5, 8. sic eramus, *donec* tu, *subvenires*, Conf. 6, 12. nec inveniebam, *donec amplecterer* meditarem dei et hominum, Conf. 7, 18. ubi nemo impediret . . . *donec exiret*, Conf. 8, 8. et versans me in vinculo meo, *donec abrumperetur* totum, Conf. 8, 11. tolerabam illud intervallum temporis, *donec decurreret*, Conf. 9, 2.

Mox ut in the sense of "as soon as" is a late Latin usage.[26] Examples from the Confessions are:

> nisi dono tuo, quod superfertur super omne mutabile, *mox ut facta est*, Conf. 13, 10. mihi placebat, et *mox ut vellem*, possem, quia *mox, ut vellem* utique vellem, Conf. 8, 8. *mox ut* genua simplici affectu *fiximus*, Conf. 9, 4.

In the following Augustine uses the form *ut primo* (as soon as) for *ut primum*: nam recreatus est et salvus factus statimque, *ut primo* cum eo loqui potui, Conf. 4, 4.

Dum meaning "while" is regularly followed by the present indicative. Occasionally in the poets and in post-Classical and late Latin *dum* (while) is followed by the imperfect subjunctive.[27] The Confessions have two examples:

> et *dum* cor aperirem ad excipiendum, pariter intrabat et quam vera diceret, gradatim quidem, Conf. 5, 14. et forte lectio in manibus erat, quam *dum exponerem* . . . adhibenda videretur, Conf. 6, 7.

Ubi meaning "when" is probably not found in Cicero, Nepos, and Horace with the imperfect indicative; in Caesar there is one instance, in Vergil probably two.[28] The Classical construction with *ubi* is usual in St. Augustine's Confessions, but note the following:

> et *ubi* non *suberat*, Conf. 2, 3. *ubi* autem inde *auferrebatur* anima mea, Conf. 4, 7. *ubi* adhaerebat, Conf. 6, 15. Cf. also Confessions 7, 20; 8, 8; 8, 6.

In Cicero and later writers in general *antequam* is used more frequently to introduce temporal clauses than is *priusquam*. *Antequam* passed over into the Romance languages.[29] *Antequam* also

[26] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 365.
[27] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 377.
[28] S. S. 578.
[29] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 366.

predominates in Augustine. He has approximately twenty-four instances of temporal clauses introduced by *antequam* and fourteen by *priusquam*. There is no difference whatever in the meaning of the two words in the Confessions and, as far as I have observed, the indicative is not used after these two particles in our treatise, and this seems to be due to the fact that Augustine uses these particles only in clauses of anticipated action. Examples of *antequam*: sentit miseriam, . . . *antequam amittat* eas, Conf. 4, 6. Cf. also 3, 11; 10, 14; 10, 10; 10, 28; 10, 30; 10, 31; 11, 30; 11, 12; 11, 27; 11, 10 passim. Examples of *priusquam*: qui mecum es et *priusquam* tecum sim, Conf. 10, 4. Cf. also 6, 1; 6, 6; 7, 20; 9, 8; 9, 10; 10, 26; 10, 31; 12, 3; (13, 1), twice.

8. Relative Clauses.

The potential and final use of the subjunctive gave rise to the relative clause of characteristic. These clauses may denote purpose, result, cause, concession. In most cases the indicative as well as the subjunctive is possible. The choice of the mood is more or less subjective on the part of the writer or speaker. In ante-Classical Latin the originally prevailing indicative is still frequent. The Classical language, especially Cicero, prefers the subjunctive, while the poets and to a greater extent the later prose writers again frequently use the indicative where Classical diction would prefer the subjunctive.[30] Augustine conforms very closely to Classical usage. Few if any definite examples can be found where the subjunctive is used for the Classical indicative or vice versa.

Quilibet as a synonym for *quicumque,* as in the following, is late Latin:[31] et illi, qui hoc iam possunt, in *quamlibet* veram sententiam cogitando *venissent,* Conf. 12, 26. *quolibet* tamen animo id *ageret,* bono utique ille vir agebat, Conf. 6, 3.

9. Indirect Discourse.

After *verba sentiendi* and *declarandi* the infinitive with the subject accusative is the regular construction in Classical times. Most of Augustine's indirect discourse after these verbs is in conformity with Classical usage. However, he has twenty-nine indirect state-

[30] S. S. 529 ff.; Kühner Steg. II, 2, 291 ff.

[31] S. S. 532.

ments expressed with *quod* and the subjunctive and twenty-five with *quod* and the indicative; also twenty examples with *quia* and the indicative, six with *quoniam* and the indicative, and one with *quoniam* and the subjunctive. These constructions are foreign to pre-Classical and Classical times. The *quod* construction occurs occasionally in the Silver Age and is of very frequent occurrence in late Latin. It was by analogy with such verbs as *addo, mitto, praetereo, adiecio, taceo, commemoro, transeo,* followed by a *quod* clause, that gave rise to the use of *quod, quia,* and *quoniam* clauses after *verba sentiendi* and *dicendi* instead of the accusative and the infinitive.[32] The first positive examples of this *quod* construction are found in the Bellum Hisp. and in Lactantius, the imitator of Cicero. The Church Fathers and other late Latin writers used also *quia* and *quoniam* in this construction. There is a similar phenomenon in Greek, where οὕνεκα, ὁθούνεκα and διότι instead of ὅτι are used after *verba sentiendi* in the sense of "that," "with regard to," "to what extent that." At first the subjunctive after *quod, quia, quoniam* was the usual construction, but later the indicative was also employed.[33] Examples of *quod* with the subjunctive:

> videlicet *nesciunt quod* ubique *sis,* Conf. 5, 2. *praelocuta* mihi *erat, quod esset* honestarum omnium doctrinarum peritissimus, Conf. 5, 3. non *dicens quod* me *offenderet,* Conf. 6, 4. *quod* enim falsa *essent,* postea mihi *claruit,* Conf. 6, 4. *audieram* etiam, *quod* a iuventute sua devotissime tibi *viveret,* Conf. 8, 1. ut *certus essem, quod* septem et tria decem *sint,* Conf. 6, 4. *certum* tamen *erat, quod incerta essent,* Conf. 6, 4. *scis . . . quod . . . cogitaverim,* Conf. 6, 7. *conpereram, quod . . . amaret,* Conf. 6, 7.

In the following we have a *quod* clause with the subjunctive for an indirect statement construction joined with the regular infinitive and accusative after a *verbum declarandi,* thus: respondit enim *me* adhuc *esse indocilem,* et *quod inflatus essem* novitate haeresis illius et nonnullis quaestiunculis iam multos inperitos *exagitassem,* Conf. 3, 12.

For additional examples, cf. Conf. 6, 1; 8, 6; 9, 9; 9, 10; (9, 11), twice; 9 4; 10, 23; 11, 14; (11, 4), twice; 11, 23; 12, 11; 12, 26; 12, 22; 13, 9; 13, 26; 13, 36.

[32] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 274; Rönsch 402.

[33] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 274; S. S. 540; Juret (2) 145 ff.

Quod clauses with the indicative for the usual indirect statement construction:

> *dicitur quod fingebat* haec quidem ille, Conf. 1, 16. *dictum est . . . quod* gratuito potius malus atque crudelis *erat*, Conf. 2, 5. *confiteor* tibi *quod* illum . . . *amaveram* . . . *quam* . . . *laudabatur*, Conf. 4, 4. *manifestum esset, quod* utique ideo sapiens esse *cupiebam*, Conf. 4, 15. *considerabam* . . . *quod* ista ipsa . . . *conferebam* nec esse sine amicis *poteram* beatus, Conf. 6, 16. et dixisti . . . *quod* in te *vivimus* et *movemur* et *sumus*, Conf. 7, 9.

For other examples, cf. Conf. 7, 9; 7 6; 7, 16; 7, 17; 8, 1; 10, 13; 10, 8; 10, 23; 10, 43; 11, 12; 11, 13; 12, 11; 12, 25; (12, 22), twice; (12, 19), four times.

Except in the form *adde, addo* is not used outside of Terence with this *quod* construction.[34] An example occurs in Augustine: *addidit quod . . . prohibiti sunt*, Conf. 8, 5.

Quia clauses with the indicative for indirect statement constructions:

> dicere, domine, nisi *quia* nescio, Conf. 1, 6. *invenientes, quia* tu *fecisti* eos, Conf. 5, 3. Item *legi* ibi *quia* verbum, deus, non ex carne, . . . , sed ex deo *natus est;* sed *quia* verbum caro *factus est* et *habitavit* in nobis, Conf. 7, 9. vidi . . . *quia sunt* et in te cuncta finita, Conf. 7, 15. scripta *traderentur, quia manducavit* et *bibit, dormivit, ambulavit, exhileratus est, contristatus est, sermocinatus est*, Conf. 7, 19. et *manifestum est* mihi, *quia* omnia bona tu *fecisti* et . . . sunt, Conf. 7, 12.

Cf. also Conf. 7, 15; 11, 2; 11, 25; 11, 30; 13, 34; 13, 8; 13, 18; 13, 24; (13, 31), twice; (13, 29), twice; (13, 28), twice.

Quoniam clauses with the indicative for indirect statement constructions:

> *scis . . . quoniam* necdum mihi haec apostolica *nota erant*, Conf. 3, 4. et *cognovi, quoniam* pro iniquitate erudisti hominem, Conf. 7, 10. *manifestum est* mihi, *quoniam* bona *sunt*, Conf. 7, 12. *confitetur . . . quoniam* tu *fecisti* caelum et terram, Conf. 12, 2. *intellexi, quoniam sunt* quidam, Conf. 13, 30.

Like all late Latin writers, Augustine very frequently uses direct statements after *dico*. For examples, cf. Conf. (3, 6), twice; 1, 16; 5, 1; 6, 8; 5, 3; 2, 9; 6, 5; 4, 12; 1, 6; 5, 5; 7, 3 passim.

[34] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 273.

10. *Cum* Circumstantial Clauses.

Cum clauses, not denoting pure time but merely a circumstance, as a rule take the imperfect or pluperfect subjunctive in Classical times. However, whether the relation of such a *cum* clause to its main clause is to be expressed by the subjunctive or indicative is sometimes a subjective matter, and depends primarily upon the conception and understanding of the writer or speaker.[35] In Augustine such clauses are patterned regularly after the Classical rule.

11. Conditional Sentences.

Authors of Classical Latinity did not adhere to strict grammatical rules in their use of the moods and tenses in conditional clauses and propositions. This accounts for the fact that there is a wide field open for grammarians in the explanation of conditional sentences. There are but few types of conditional sentences in the Confessions which can not be paralleled in Classical Latin.

A late form of the present general condition is the *si fuerim . . . sum* type, viz. with the perfect subjunctive in the protasis corresponding to the pluperfect subjunctive sometimes used in the protasis of a past general condition. From the fourth century A. D. on, the perfect indicative gave way to the perfect subjunctive in present general conditions.[36] The following examples occur in the Confessions:

> et sic *diligitur . . . , si* non *amaverit* redamantem aut *si* amantem non *redamaverit*, Conf. 4, 9. nam *quoquoversum* se *verterit* anima hominis, ad dolores *figitur*, Conf. 4, 10. *si* autem notare *potuerimus . . . possumus* dicere, Conf. 11, 24. non *incipit nisi* brevis sonare *destiterit*, Conf. 11, 27.

Classical writers rarely confused the tenses in present and past contrary to fact conditions.[37] Note a confusion of tenses in the following, where Augustine uses the imperfect subjunctive in both apodosis and protasis in past contrary to fact conditions:

[35] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 344 ff.

[36] Cf. H. Blase, "Zur Geschichte der Futura und des Konjunctivs des Perfects im Lateinischen," in *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie*, vol. X, 1898, p. 313; Juret (2) 170.

[37] Colbert 95.

non enim *discerem nisi cogerer*, Conf. 1, 12. ita ergo non *cognosceremus* verba haec . . . *nisi* Terentius *induceret* nequam adulescentem, Conf. 1, 16. quo vulnere *si feriretur* cor matris, numquam, *sanaretur*, Conf. 5, 9. maiora enim *posset, si vellet*, Conf. 8, 6. *dicerem* . . . *si* eam *reperirem*, Conf. 13, 24.

a. Conditional Clauses of Comparison.

A conditional clause of comparison introduced by *quam si* is rare in the Silver age. It does not seem to occur in the strictly Classical period at all.[38] This is exemplified ten times in the Confessions, as follows:

magis *displiceat* hominibus, *quam si* contra tua praecepta hominem oderit, Conf. 1, 18. et *magis* pius mihi videbar, *si* te, deus meus, . . . infinitum *crederem*, . . . *quam si* . . . te *opinarer* finiri, Conf. 5, 10. multo tamen plures, *quam si* nec tanto apice auctoritatis *emineret*, nec . . . *hauriret*, Conf. 6, 5.

Cf. also Conf. (8, 3), three times; 10, 33; 10, 37; 12, 29; 13, 2.

Si tamen is poetical, Silver, and late Latin.[39] Note conditional sentence introduced by *si tamen:* et quis non loquitur eam, *si tamen* eam? Conf. 13, 11.

Tamquam and *quasi* were rarely used with participles employed in a figurative sense until after the Augustan period.[40] Note this usage in Augustine:

nondum exciderunt, *quasi remota* interiore loco, Conf. 10, 9. cum memoriae commendantur, *quasi traiecta* in ventrem, Conf. 10, 14.

For *quasi* with the participle, cf. also Conf. 8, 11; 10, 19; 12, 17; 12, 27.

Examples of *tamquam* with a participle:

temptavi . . . inridere, *tamquam* et illo *inrisuro* mecum baptismum, Conf. 4, 4. ecce enim *tamquam* deo *dicente*, Conf. 13, 19. et repullulasse laetatur *tamquam revivescente* fertilitate agri, Conf. 13, 26. Cf. also Conf. 6, 4; 8, 11; 12, 26; 12, 27; 13, 22; 12, 23; 13, 24.

Velut without *si* meaning "as if" for *quasi* is not Classical.

[38] S. S. 593; Kühner Steg. II, 2, 453 ff.
[39] S. S. 592.
[40] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 790; S. S. 458.

It occurs from Livy on. Cicero uses neither *velut si* nor *velut*.[41] *Velut* alone is used in the Confessions as follows:

> hac enim nomen saevum et diabolicum *velut* insigne urbanitatis est, Conf. 3, 3. ita sarcina saeculi, *velut* somno assolet, dulciter premebar, Conf. 8, 5. eundo in obviam, sed *velut* a dorso mussitantes, Conf. 8, 11. Cf. also Conf. 9, 2; 10, 11; 13, 26.

Besides with participles, *tamquam* and *velut* are sometimes used with nouns and abridged expressions from Livy on.[42] This too has its parallels in the Confessions:

> quo magis illum amabam, hoc magis mortem . . . *tamquam* atrocissimam *inimicam* oderam et timebam, Conf. 4, 6. dissentire interdum sine odio, *tamquam ipse homo secum*, Conf. 4, 8. et ita eis debentur *tamquam hominibus*, Conf. 13, 25. dilabuntur, ut denuo *velut nova* excogitanda sint, Conf. 10, 11.

For similar examples of *tamquam*, cf. Conf. 13, 17; 13, 25; 6, 9; 10, 11; 10, 31; 10, 39; 13, 18; 13, 28.

Ac si as the equivalent of *tamquam* or *quasi* is late Latin.[43] Note this usage in Augustine: diligendo moriturum *ac si* non moriturum? Conf. 4, 8.

12. Concessive Clauses.

A concessive clause with *quamvis* regularly takes the subjunctive in Classical Latinity. It does occur with the indicative in poetry and later prose.[44]. Augustine has the indicative in the following instance: certus eram, *quamvis* eam . . . videram, Conf. 8, 1.

Classical Latinity does not use *quamvis* with a participle. This usage occurs in Silver and late Latin.[45] Note the examples from the Confessions:

> *quamvis litteratum* et *expolitum* et veridicum, non me totum rapiebat, Conf. 3, 4. *quamvis* enim *absentibus nobis* . . . , corporali aegritudine correptus . . . , ex hac vita emigravit. Conf. 9, 3. dicitur enim et ipsa *quamvis creata*, sapientia, Conf. 12, 15.

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[41] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 718; Lane 378.
[42] Lane 378.
[43] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 62.
[44] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 442 ff.
[45] Kühner Steg. II, 2, 445.

Concessive *cum* with the indicative is ante-Classical Latin.[46] *Cum* is so used in the Confessions: quod licet probes, *cum* ferri aequo animo eadem ipsa non *possunt,* Conf. 1, 7.

The negative in a concessive clause is *ne.*[47] Augustine uses *non* in the following: *Cum* enim *non satagerem* discere quae dicebat, . . . veniebant in animum meum simul cum verbis, Conf. 5, 14.

[46] Draeger II, 680.
[47] S. S. 480.

CHAPTER IX.

Participles; Gerundive; Gerund

A. *Participle.*

The Latin language possesses no great wealth of participles. Furthermore in the strictly Classical period participial constructions were sparingly employed. Thus in Cicero, although moderately used, they serve to vary his style by being interchanged with subordinate clauses, and give a certain finish, polish, and balance to the sentence structure. Caesar is more liberal in the employment of participles, and frequently lets one participial construction depend upon another. Livy very frequently uses a participle where Cicero prefers a dependent clause, and sometimes he piles them up in one sentence or in several succeeding sentences. With the development of the language, in the later Latin periods nearly all authors were so extravagant in the employment of participial forms as to destroy all harmony and good taste. Of later Latin writers, Priscillian is one of the best exponents of superfluous use of participles. Others are Juvencus, Prudentius, Gregory of Tours, etc. The Latin language lacks some of its participial forms. Greek is rich in participial forms, and hence in translations from Greek into Latin the need of aorist and other participles asserted itself and greatly influenced Latin in its transitional and later periods. Verbal adjectives in *-tus,* for instance, were given an active meaning, deponent verbs serving as a pattern. Probably another source for the extension of the use of participles was colloquial speech which preferred a shorter participial construction to a long dependent clause.[1]

The Confessions abound in participial forms. Augustine, however, does not seem to be among the most extravagant of his day in this regard. In the passages below are set forth some of the variations from Classical norms in the use of participles.

[1] S. S. 450; Salonius 250; Régnier 104; Juret (2) 121 ff.

1. Present Participle.

The present participle is rarely a substantive in the nominative and ablative singular, but often so in the other cases and in both numbers. Plautus and Terence employed the nominative singular of the participle substantively. Livy avoided these cases, but after his time an increase in their number is noticeable. Not until Nero's time does Seneca write in, 1, 4, 1, quo distet *timens* a timido.[2] Augustine in the Confessions rarely uses the present participle as a substantive in the nominative case, but more frequently in the ablative singular. Note the following examples:

> id est cum *amans* eum laudat, Conf. 4, 14; aut quid sum, cum mihi bene est, nisi *sugens* lac tuum aut *fruens* te, cibo qui non corrumpitur? Conf. 4, 1; aut quomodo credent sine *praedicante?* (cf. Rom. 10, 14) Conf. 1, 1. quid in tali *animante* non mirabile atque laudabile? Conf. 1, 20. cur igitur in ore cogitationis non sentitur a *disputante* hoc est a *reminiscente*, laetitiae dulcedo vel amaritudo maestitiae? Conf. 10, 14. Cf. also 1, 20; 1, 1; 4, 14 passim.

The participle *nesciens* (not knowing, without knowing) is seldom used. In Classical Latin it does not seem to occur, at least not in Cicero or Caesar. Terence has it in, Heaut. 468. *Nescius* is used instead, and it often appears in the phrase *non sum nescius*. Furthermore *sciens* and *nesciens* are mostly connected with nouns and used as adjectives. In post-Classical and late Latin they are also used as participles. For *nesciens* Cicero uses *insciens* or *nescius* with *esse*.[3] Note *sciens* and *nesciens* used as participles: quem quo captus eram relaxare iam coeperat nec volens nec *sciens*, Conf. 5, 7. ut per eum ad te *sciens* ducerer, Conf. 5, 13.

Nesciens is used as a participle as follows:

> sed quis te invocat *nesciens* te? Conf. 1, 1. et me talem fuisse magis mihi ipsi indicaverunt *nescientes* quam scientes nitriores mei, Conf. 1, 6. aliud enim pro alio potest invocare *nesciens*, Conf. 1, 1. haec ego *nesciens* inridebam illos sanctos servos, Conf. 3, 10. Cf. also 4, 15; 6, 2; 7, 7; 4, 15; 9, 4 passim.

In post-Classical and late Latin *nesciens* is used with the infinitive and subject accusative.[4] Augustine offers examples of this

[2] Lane 411; S. S. 610.
[3] K. S. II, 144, 540.
[4] K. S. II, 541.

later Latin construction thus: *nesciens id ipsum* ad magnum miseriam *pertinere,* Conf. 6, 16. *nesciente* alio lumine illam inlustrandam esse, Conf. 4, 15.

The present participle is frequently employed by late Latin and Christian writers for the ablative of the gerund, implying in a general sense the idea of means or instrument.[5] Examples from the Confessions are rare however:

> non enim docebant me maiores homines, *praebentes* (= *praebendo*) mihi verba certo aliquo ordine doctrinae, Conf. 1, 8. sed solvis eam, cum voles, aut *miserans* (= *miserando*) aut vindicans (= *vindicando*), Conf. 5, 11. et ideo illis videbatur prudens et sapiens, quia delectabat eos *loquens* (= *loquendo*), Conf. 5, 6. et manerem ad imaginem tuam et tibi *serviens* (= *serviendo*) dominarer corpori, Conf. 7, 7. quoniam tu vegetas molem corporis tui *praebens* (= *praebendo*) ei vitam, Conf. 10, 6.

2. Future Participle.

The attributive use of the future active participle is foreign to ante-Classical Latin. Cicero has *futurus* attributively, and for the purpose of variation he uses *venturus* once. Prose writers after Cicero retained *futurus,* while the poets preferred *venturus.* Vergil and Propertius and other poets used other future participial forms as adjectives. Horace particularly was fond of this construction.[6] Thus the attributive use of the future participle in general is almost entirely poetic usage. Our author employs *futurus* frequently as an attributive adjective, but he also uses other future participles very sparingly. Examples of *futurus* as an adjective:

> quam in te *futuri* saeculi habebat mater, Conf. 2, 3. ad medicinam *futuram* in eius memoria reponebatur, Conf. 6, 9. *futurus* dispensator verbi tui, Conf. 6, 9. atque ex his etiam *futuras* actiones et eventa et spes, Conf. 10, 8. For *futurus* used attributively, cf. also 6, 13; 6, 16; 11, 11; 11, 15; 11, 14 passim.

Note other future particles used attributively, a usage which, as stated above, is almost entirely poetical: relicta domo et non *secutura* matre, nullum ob aliam causam Mediolanium venerat, Conf. 6, 10.

[5] G. Hagendhal 120; S. S. 447 ff.; Kühner Steg. II, 2, 752; Colbert 64.
[6] S. S. 453.

The predicate adjective use of the future participle is foreign to ante-Classical Latin, very rare in the Classical period but becomes more frequent from Livy on.[7] The following instances have been found in the Confessions:

> repente aestuarem paene *moriturus*, Conf. 1, 11. For *moriturus* cf. also Conf. 4, 6; 4, 8. *venturus* in ipsam experientiam atque inde fortasse *lapsurus* in eam quam stupebat servitutem, Conf. 6, 12. multis sunt auctoritati ad salutem, et multis praeeunt *secuturis*, Conf. 8, 4. et cedendo conduntur, iterum cum voluero *processura*, Conf. 10, 8. ut confitear *oraturis* pro me fratribus meis, Conf. 10, 37. ita narratio dispensatoris tui *sermocinaturis* pluribus *profutura* parvo sermonis modulo scatet fluenta liquidae veritatis, Conf. 12, 27. per quem deus unus sacras litteras vera et diversa *visuris* multorum sensibus temperavit? Conf. 12, 31. expectatio rerum *venturarum* fit contuitus, Conf. 12, 15.

A future participle used to express purpose after verbs of motion was also of very rare occurrence in the Classical period, but was extended during the post-Classical epoch, due to Greek influence. In Silver and especially late Latin this usage was not confined to verbs of motion. Other verbs were also followed by the future participle to express purpose.[8] Only the subsequent examples have been found in the Confessions:

> aderat iam iamque dextera tua, *raptura* me de caeno et *ablutura*, et ignorabam, Conf. 6, 16. Hac me docuisti, ut quemadmodum medicamenta sic alimenta *sumpturus* accedam, Conf. 10, 31. ex quo consilio deridebas nostra et tua praeparabas nobis, *daturus* escam in opportunitate, et *aperturus* manum, atque *impleturus* animas nostras benedictione, Conf. 6, 14.

3. Perfect Passive Participle.

There are few deviations from Classical norms in the Confessions with regard to the perfect passive participle. Perfect passive participles, as well as present and future in some of their cases, used substantively in Classical Latin may be modified by numeral adjectives and pronouns but only seldom by other adjectives, i. e. Cicero Tusc. 4, 54 *omnes stultos;* 3, 15 *omnes sapientes* fortes.[9] Augustine deviates but slightly from general Classical usage in this

[7] S. S. 455; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 760; Juret (2) 124.
[8] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 761. [9] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 244 ff.

regard. The following few examples serve merely to show Augustine's care in the use of this construction. They are exceptional for Classical Latin but may be found therein:

> et signa, quibus *sensa* mea nota aliis facerem, Conf. 1, 6. ut dormienti *falsa visa* persuadeant quid vigilanti vera non possunt, Conf. 10, 30. cum ad te referrem *inferiora visa* mea, Conf. 10, 40.

Silver and late Latin writers often use *defunctus* to equal *mortuus*.[10] Note two instances from the Confessions thus: et si multae essent quae illo modo videbantur honorandae memoriae *defunctorum*, Conf. 6, 2. et cum apud Ostia Tiberina essemus, mater *defuncta* est, Conf. 9, 8.

B. Gerundive.

The gerundive as compared with the gerund is the older form and the one more frequently used. Opinions differ as to its origin and original meaning. Those who consider it a participle give it partly a present and partly a future meaning, others omit the time element and consider it a verbal adjective similar to those adjectives ending in *-bilis*. A vast majority of the adjectives in *-bilis* have a passive and only a few have an active meaning. Probably the verbal adjective in *-ndus* developed along similar lines. This verbal adjective in *-ndus* joined the verbal system at a later date, was looked upon as a participle, and finally took on a future meaning. Considering the gerundive as such, it probably had originally a passive meaning. This meaning is retained in deponent verbs, while all the other forms of deponent verbs have active meanings.[11] The gerundive as a verbal adjective may be used predicatively or attributively, in fact it may partake of all the properties of an adjective and of a verb. However, it underwent a number of changes in the later development of the Latin tongue. Many uses of the gerundive which were rare in the Golden and even pre-Classical epochs came into common circulation in later periods. Such later uses of the gerundive as occur in the Confessions are discussed below.

[10] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 225.
[11] S. S. 439.

1. General.

The accusative of the gerundive, used as a predicate adjective in agreement with a direct object to express purpose or intention, was restricted to special verbs in pre-Classical and Classical Latinity. In Plautus we meet this construction only after *dare, adducere, conducere, locare, petere, rogare,* and *scire.* Classical diction never employed *petere* and *rogare* but added *curo, trado, suscipio, edo, deferro, mitto,* and several others to the list. This syntactical phenomenon was widely extended in late Latin. Authors of this period resorted to all sorts of bold analogies in this regard; e. g. Orosius 4, 3, 5 says hoc facinus *puniendum* consuli *iussum est,* where a Classical author would write hoc facinus *punire* consul iussus est.[12] Augustine, in accordance with the late Latin usage, contributes the following:

> et abstulimus inde onera ingentia non ad nostras epulas, sed vel *proicienda* porcis, Conf. 2, 4. quae tamen ubi *consideranda* et *discutienda* protuli, modeste sane ille nec ausus est subire ipsam sarcinam, Conf. 5, 7. et nunc tales odi pravos et distortos, quamvis eos *corrigendos* diligam, ut pecuniae doctrinam ipsam, quam discunt, praeferant, Conf. 5, 12. totumque talem arbitrans *distuli repetendum* exercitatior in dominico eloquio, Conf. 9, 5. *sociavimus* eum coaevum nobis in gratia tua, *educandum* in disciplina tua, Conf. 9, 6. haec omnia *recipit recolenda,* cum opus est, et *retractanda* grandis memoriae recessus, Conf. 10, 8. sed quid mihi scientiae *comedendum adponeret* nominatus apud eos ille Faustus intuebar, Conf. 5, 3.

A similar construction may be used with a passive verb. Then the gerundive is put in the nominative case.[13] Note the following examples from the Confessions:

> congregatis inquilinis fori tamquam furem manifestum se comprehendisse gloriantur, et inde *offerendus* iudiciis *ducebatur,* Conf. 6, 9. et ego *premendus remanseram,* nisi patientia succederet, Conf. 9, 2. quando mihi imitandi proponebantur homines, Conf. 1, 18.

Impero followed by the gerundive instead of *ut* and the subjunctive is late Latin.[14] One instance of this late Latin usage has been found in the Confessions as follows: sentiebam . . . tam

[12] S. S. 443; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 731.
[13] S. S. 443; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 731.
[14] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 732.

multa fabulosissima et absurdissima, . . . *credenda imperari,* Conf. 6, 5.

From the predicate use of the gerundive developed the attributive use which is somewhat similar in sense to adjectives in *-bilis.* This construction, too, very rarely occurred in the Golden Age. It became more in evidence with post-Classical and late poets and prose writers. Cyprian, however, adhered to Classical usage in this regard but most late authors adopted the new construction extensively.[15] This usage is somewhat more frequent in Augustine. The following instances occur in our treatise:

> contendunt laetitiae meae *flendae* cum *laetandis* maeroribus, et ex qua parte stet victoria nescio, Conf. 10, 28. honorantes et in culmine *sequendae* auctoritatis nobiscum constituentes illam per sanctum Moysen editam sanctam scripturam tuam, Conf. 12, 16. nimium mirabilis est animus iste atque ad horrorem *stupendus,* Conf. 11, 31. et mihi abs te Geneseos liber *scribendus adiungeretur,* Conf. 12, 26. Multa iniuriosa *faciunt,* mira hebetudine et *punienda* legibus, Conf. 5, 8. et facta erat rursus templum idoli sui *abominandum* tibi, Conf. 7, 14. sed illa cum attulisset canistrum cum sollemnibus epulis, *praegustandis* atque *largiendis,* Conf. 6, 2. numquid etiam hoc inter *contemnanda* deputabimus, Conf. 10, 35. tunc ergo *reprehendenda* faciebam, Conf. 1, 7. in qua me tamquam mortuum *resuscitandum* tibi flebat, Conf. 6, 1.

2. Dative of the Gerundive.

Late writers sometimes use the dative of the gerundive construction instead of a final clause. This form was not at all common in the pre-Classical and Classical epochs and its use was not extended until after Livy. It found more favor in the Silver age, especially with Tacitus. We find *serviundae servituti* ego servos instruxi mihi, in Plautus Mil. 745; *lucro faciendo* ego auspicavi in hunc diem, in Persius 689; subdicit legionem *faciendis castris,* in Tacitus A. 2, 21.[16] It appears that this mode of expression never became very active even in Late Latin. Augustine, too, held aloof from this phenomenon in the Confessions. Only the following examples have been found:

> parvo ipso tempore, quod *reparandae* menti suae nanciscebatur,

[15] Kühner Steg, II, 1, 732; S. S. 443

[16] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 746, 749; Draeger II, 835; Lane 401.

Conf. 6, 3. cui *capiendo* invalidus eram, Conf. 7, 18. hinc adquiritur eloquentia, rebus *persuadendis* sententiisque *explicandis* maxime necessaria, Conf. 1, 16. quo *percipiendae* tantae gratia parator aptiorque fierem, Conf. 9, 5. quoniam res ipsa nec graeca nec latina est, cui *adipiscendae* Graeci Latinique inhiant ceterarumque linguarum homines, Conf. 10, 20.

3. Accusative of the Gerundive.

Augustine makes little use of the non-Classical uses of the accusative of the gerundive.

In late Latin an abstract substantive is often used as the object of a verb or preposition in preference to a verbal or participial phrase.[17] In the following an abstract noun with a verbal idea is used for a gerundive: sicut praescribit lex tua, domine, qui formas etiam propaginem mortis nostrae, potens imponere lenem manum *ad temperamentum* spinarum a paradiso tuo seclusarum, Conf. 2, 2.

C. *The Gerund.*

The gerund as a separate form developed from the gerundive. It answers the purpose of a declined impersonal future participle of transitive and intransitive verbs. It is used only in the oblique cases of the singular. It corresponds to the articular infinitive in Greek, a participial substantive in English, is active in meaning, and by some grammarians is termed the declined infinitive.[18] The following non-Classical uses of the gerund, found in the Confessions, are worthy of note.

1. Accusative of the Gerund.

The accusative of the gerund after the preposition *inter* is ante-Classical, poetical, post-Classical, and late Latin usage; e. g. Enn. Inc. 2, *inter ponendum;* Vergil E. 9, 24, *inter agendum;* Seneca Contr. 7, 3, 10, *inter disputandum.*[19] In the Confessions we find only one instance: quam legere coepit unus eorum, et mirati et accendi, et *inter legendum* meditari arripere talem vitam, Conf. 8, 6.

[17] Goelzer (J) 391 ff.

[18] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 728; S. S. 439 ff.

[19] Cf. S. G. Stacy, "Die Entwickelung des livianischen Stiles," in *Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie,* vol. X, 1898, p. 75.

2. Genitive of the Gerund followed by an Object.

The genitive of the gerund may take an object if the object is a neuter adjective or a pronoun. With other substantives this usage is rather rare in the Classical period. As regards choice of gerund or gerundive followed by an accusative, Classical authors vary greatly. Cicero for example has about twenty-four passages with the gerund and the accusative, and about 587 containing the accusative with the gerundive. Caesar has the gerundive with an object 280 times and only 7 instances of the gerund followed by an object. In Plautus there are a few instances of the gerund with an object. From Livy on this gerund construction becomes more frequent, in later writers to such an extent that in Curtius the order of this usage is reversed in favor of the gerund.[20] Our author is Classical in this regard except for the following: studio *spectandi nugatoria* et *imitandi ludicra* inquietudine? Conf. 1, 19. et agere negotium *procurandi fructus* mortis, Conf. 3, 3.

3. Ablative of the Gerund.

The ablative of the gerund with an object is rare in ante-Classical and Classical Latin but more frequent among the Augustan poets, in Sallust, Livy, and late Latin.[21] Augustine rarely uses this construction:

> et flente Didonis mortem, quae fiebat *amando Aenean*, Conf. 1, 13. ubi etiam talibus displicebam, *fallendo . . . paedagogum* et *magistros* et *parentes*, Conf. 1, 19. quam proturbarent gratis *inludendo* atque inde *pascendo malevolas laetitias suas*, Conf. 3, 3.

The ablative of the gerund without a preposition expresses either manner or means in Classical Latin. However, the Classical language on the whole held very much aloof from the ablative of the gerund to express manner. The present participle was used instead. But Ovid and Livy favored this usage and hence caused its spread in Silver and late Latin. A further development is the use of the ablative of the gerund in late Latin where the idea of manner, means, etc., is vague or entirely non-existent, and the ablative of the gerund became equivalent to the present participle.

[20] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 735.

[21] S. S. 441 ff.; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 735 ff.

This usage later descended into the Romance languages, e. g. Italian *scrivendo* and Spanish *viendo*.[22] Augustine has the ablative of the gerund for a present participle in the following:

> mansit *orando* (= *orans*) et *flendo* (= *flens*), (modal), Conf. 5, 8. non revertebar ad te, et *ambulando* (= *ambulans*) ambulabam in ea, (modal), Conf. 4, 15. cum filios non *agnoscendo* (= *agnoscens*) benedicere, sed *benedicendo* (= *benedicens*) agnoscere meruit, Conf. 10, 34. nec iam ingemescebam *orando* (= *orans*), Conf. 6, 3. *accusando* (= *accusans*) dixeram, Conf. 6, 3.

Causal ablative of the gerund is apparently very rare.[23] Augustine uses it thus: Inhorrui *timendo,* ibidemque inferbui *sperando* et *exultando* in tua misericordia, pater, Conf. 9, 4.

4. Prepositions with the Gerund and Gerundive.

In with the accusative of the gerund and gerundive giving the "end for which" is Classical but not common in that period.[24] This construction is very rare in the Confessions. Only one instance has been found: et tamen *in* cuncta haec *adipiscenda* non est egrediendum abs te, Conf. 2, 5.

[22] S. S. 447 ff.; Kühner Steg. II, 1, 752 ff.; H. Hagendahl 120.
[23] Kühner Steg. II, 1, 752.
[24] Gildersleeve-Lodge 283.

SUMMARY.

The main results of the foregoing study may be summed up as follows:

Augustine presents very few irregularities in his use of the noun. He occasionally employs a substantive attributively, an abstract noun for a concrete noun, singulars for plurals, and plurals for singulars. He has also a number of substantives employed with altered meanings as synonyms of Classical words.

The nominative case is rarely used in agreement with the vocative, e. g. *domine meus, anime meus,* and several other combinations that are uncommon in Classical Latin.

Augustine uses a great number of transitive verbs intransitively and equally as many intransitive verbs transitively.

The dative appears after many verbs, partly under the influence of poetic and Silver Latin usage, and often as a late development in Ecclesiastical Latin where Classical Latin would require other constructions. For the dative of agent after the second periphrastic conjugation, Augustine has an occasional example of *ab* with the ablative.

Our author makes a lavish use of the late Latin descriptive and appositional genitives. Prepositions with the ablative for the "genitive of the whole" occur occasionally. Augustine prefers the ablative after *plenus* to the genitive, which is in conformity with the practice of most late Latin writers. He also uses the genitive once after *curiosus,* a construction which originated in the post-Classical period. Several verbs are followed by the genitive which rarely appear so constructed in the Golden Age. Several examples of unusual ellipsis of the genitive case occur.

The ablative of "place where" without *in* occurs in a few instances. *Ex* and the ablative after *scaturio* seems to be found only in the Confessions. The late Latin usage of the ablative of *domus* and a preposition for the locative case appears several times.

Many variations from Classical usage appear in the use of prepositions. *Ad* with a noun to express purpose, found rarely in Classical Latinity, is noteworthy in the Confessions by reason of its

frequency. Several verbs have *ad* and the accusative, not so used in the Classical period and often characteristic of late Latin alone. *Per* with the accusative instead of the simple ablative is very frequently used to express means, a phenomenon which seldom occurs in Classical Latin. The Silver Latin usage of *per* with a neuter demonstrative or relative pronoun appears occasionally, also *per se* which originated in popular speech. *Praeter* is used for *sine* once. Final *post, apud* with names of towns with a locative sense have been found several times. There are several instances of *a* or *ab* and the ablative to express means, a late Latin usage, and *ab* to express cause once, a poetical construction. The preposition *de* with the ablative to express cause, a poetical and colloquial usage, and *de* with the ablative to denote means have been found often. *De* is very frequently found for *ex* with the ablative of separation, also for *ex* to denote source or origin. Augustine confuses the use of *de* and *ex* with the ablative of "place whence" after *eruo,* and in a number of other circumstances. *Ex* appears in several instances with the ablative of means, and as the personal agent after a passive verb. *Pro* with the ablative to express cause and *pro tempore* in the sense of "now," "at that time," for *nunc* occurs; also the poetical and post-Classical construction *aliquem rogare pro aliquo* has been found once. *Prae* with the ablative is used for *propter* with the accusative; *prae* with the ablative is also used after a comparative degree for the *quam* construction, and in the sense of "in comparison with," "in relation to" after a positive degree. There is one instance of *prae* with the gerundive to express purpose. *Coram* is frequently used as a preposition. *In* with the accusative to express purpose appears three times. Temporal *in* and *usque in* with the accusative meaning "until" occur, also local and figurative *in* for *ad* are sometimes found. A number of verbs and several adjectives that would have other constructions than *in* with the accusative are so employed by our author. The poetic phrases *super omnia,* and *super* for *praeter* appear once each. Instrumental *in* with the ablative is frequent. Final and temporal *in* are rare. *Super* in several instances stands for *de* (concerning), a rare Classical usage.

The chief irregularities in the syntax of adjectives are a frequent substantive use, and combinations with prepositions not so

employed in the strictly Classical epoch, superlatives formed by *valde,* and the loss of the comparative force of *plures,* positives for comparatives, comparatives for superlatives, comparatives for positives, superlatives for positives, the different degrees of comparison used side by side, and *longe* occasionally replacing *multo* as an ablative of degree of difference. *Alter* is used for *alius* three times, *toti* for *omnes* once, *unus* as an indefinite article twice, *proprius* as a possessive pronoun twice, and *tot* for *tanti* once. *Dimidius* is used with nouns other than *pars* twice, *plerique* in the sense of "very many" once, *universus* for *omnis* occasionally.

The greatest changes appear in the syntax of pronouns. The personal pronoun of the first and second persons is but rarely used superfluously in Augustine. Prepositional forms such as *per me, pro se* appear. Reciprocity is expressed by the late Latin forms *invicem, inter se, ad invicem,* etc. *Alter uter* to express reciprocity occurs twice. In many instances the intensive pronoun *ipse* loses its intensive force and approaches the force of a definite article, at other times it is used for *is, idem,* or *ille.* Combinations such as *id ipsum* and *idem ipsum* have been found. In very many instances the finer and more distinct shades of meaning of the demonstrative pronouns *hic, ille, is, idem* are lost sight of and they are used indiscriminately, e. g. *iste* very frequently for *ille* and *hic.* There are many deviations from the normal way (viz. *hic . . . ille*) of expressing contrast, such as *ille . . . ille, iste . . . ille,* etc. The indefinite pronoun *aliquis* is often used for *quisquam* and vice versa. Several later forms of *aliquis* occur. *Uterque* appears in the plural for the singular once. *Quidam* and *quisque* are used for *aliquis,* the form *quaeque* for *omnia, aliquis . . . aliquis* for *alius . . . alius.*

Quite a number of deviations from Classical norms occur in Augustine's use of the particles. *Adhuc* appears for *etiam, olim* for *iam pridem, plerumque* for *saepe, retro* with the adjectival signification "formerly," "in past time," *quousque* in the sense of "until" and as an introductory interrogative particle, *deinceps* as the equivalent of *deinde* and *postea,* and *modo* for *nunc* and *longe* pertaining to time. *Unde* appears several times for *quare* and also in the sense of instrumental *de. Inde* is employed occasionally with the meaning of "therefore." The Silver and late

Latin correlative use of *hinc . . . inde,* the rare *hac . . . illac,* and the poetical *hic . . . illic* have been found once each. *Ubique* is used for *undique,* and *uspiam* appears in negative sentences. *Magis* is quite often used for *potius, potius* once for *vero,* and sometimes *amplius* for *plus.* In one instance the positive and comparative of *longe* are used together. The combination of preposition and adverb, *a longe,* occurs once. *Quin imo* is used for *quin, quin etiam,* etc.; *penitus* for *omnino, nihil* for *non. Et* is sometime used with the force of *quousque,* and very often throughout the Confessions for *etiam. Et* frequently takes on an adversative meaning which is rare in Classical Latinity. *Nec* is often used for *non* and sometimes for *nequidem. Necdum* has been found for *nondum* once, and *non saltem* for *ne-quidem* twice. The poetic combination of *neque-aut* for *neque . . . neque* occurs occasionally. The terms *aut* and *vel* are often confused. *Nec . . . vel* is used where we would expect *nec . . . nec, non . . . aut,* and *vel . . . et* for *vel . . . vel.* Augustine uses the un-Classical *et . . . atque, et . . . que,* and *et . . . nec* combinations, also the poetical and later Latin *aliquando . . . aliquando. Non tantum . . . sed etiam* and *non solum . . . verum quoque,* where we would expect a combination like *non solum . . . sed etiam,* although rare, appear. *Vel* is occasionally used for *saltem* or *veluti. An* sometimes becomes a disjunctive conjunction, and is also used for *aut. Quippe* is occasionally employed for *enim. Itaque* is sometimes post-positive, and *hinc* is employed as a purely conclusive particle once. *Ecce* is often so used. *Ecce* is occasionally followed by the accusative instead of the nominative case. *Ei* joined with *mihi,* a non-Classical usage, has been found in the Confessions several times.

A number of difficulties are presented with regard to the tense and mood of the verb. Occasionally there is a confusion of the tenses. A number of compound tenses are formed with *fui* instead of *sum. Habeo* and *teneo* sometimes form compound tenses with perfect passive participles. The late Latin usage of *forem* as the equivalent of *essem* occurs three times. The late compound tense formed with the present participle and *sum* appears on several occasions. The expression *opus habeo* and *opus habeo ut* appear occasionally.

Few irregularities appear in the use of the voice of the verb. One deponent verb has an active form, several verbs with passive forms are used impersonally, and quite frequently *videri* is employed in the passive sense of "to be seen." Several instances exist of transitive verbs used absolutely.

Quite a number of deviations from Classical norms in the use of the mood of the verb have been discovered. The form *utrumnam* with the indicative appears once in a rhetorical question and once also to introduce an indirect question, both of which are late Latin usages. *Non* is sometimes used for *ne* with the hortatory subjunctive, and *o si* for *utinam* in a wish. *Absit ut* for *tantum abest ut* occurs eight times, and the expletive use of *absit* twice. The indicative occurs once with potential force and once after *fortasse*.

The future imperative has been found once. *Vide* is used with *ut* to express a positive command. The indicative takes the place of the imperative in one instance. A negative command with *ne* and the present subjunctive, and two consecutive negative commands, one introduced by *ne* and the other by *nec*, occur. *Dico* followed by an *ut* clause in the sense of an exhortation or command appears eight times.

The infinitive is found after very many verbs where in most cases Classical Latinity would use other constructions, or very rarely the infinitive. In a few instances the infinitive is used to express purpose. A number of verbs, such as *iubeo, volo,* etc., are followed by *ut* clauses instead of the infinitive. *Iubeo* appears once followed by a purpose clause introduced by *quo* without a comparative. Several adjectives are followed by infinitives instead of some other normal Classical construction. The late Latin personal use of the passive of *deprehendere* with the infinitive and the infinitive used substantively, modeled after the Greek combination of the infinitive with the article, appear in the Confessions.

Augustine very frequently uses the indicative in indirect questions. In one instance *si* introduces an indirect question. *Qui* is used for *quis* once.

In causal clauses the subjunctive is occasionally used for the indicative. The rare Classical *nisi quia* occurs quite often, and there is one instance of the late Latin *dum* causal clause with the subjunctive. The causal particle *quando* appears frequently; causal

sicut only once. Sometimes the indicative is used in *cum* causal clauses. *Ut non* is occasionally used for *ne* in negative purpose clauses. In successive negative purpose clauses *ne . . . et non* appears once for *ne . . . neve.* Several *quo* purpose clauses without a comparative have been found. The infinitive is used after *caveo* for *ut* and the subjunctive once. Infinitives are quite often used after verbs of fearing. The infinitive instead of the *quin* or *quominus* construction appears a number of times after verbs of doubting, and once after a verb of hindering. *Nisi ut* to introduce a consecutive clause occurs in a number of instances. Temporal *quando* occurs frequently. *Donec* is used more frequently by Augustine than *dum* and *quoad. Mox ut* meaning "as soon as," a late Latin usage, appears several times. *Dum* meaning "while" is followed by the imperfect subjunctive twice instead of the usual present indicative. *Antequam* is employed more often than *priusquam* in the Confessions. There are no pronounced irregularities with regard to the relative clause of characteristic. *Quilibet* is used for *quicumque* twice.

Most of Augustine's indirect discourse after *verba sentiendi* and *declarandi* is in conformity with Classical usage. However, he has about twenty-nine indirect statements expressed by *quod* and the subjunctive and about twenty-five by *quod* and the indicative; also about twenty examples of *quia* and the indicative, about six of *quoniam* and the indicative, and one of *quoniam* and the subjunctive.

Conditional sentences offer very little that is out of the ordinary. the late Latin *si fuerim . . . sum* type of present general condition has been found several times. In several instances the imperfect subjunctive is used for the pluperfect subjunctive in past contrary to fact conditions. Conditional clauses of comparison introduced by *quam si* and *si tamen* sometimes occur. *Quasi* appears seven times and *tamquam* ten times with participles employed in a figurative sense. *Velut* without *si* for *quasi* occurs in several passages. Concessive *quamvis* is followed by the indicative once, and it is used several times with a participle. Concessive *cum* appears once with the indicative. *Non* is found for *ne* in a negative concessive clause.

The present participle is often employed as a noun; frequently in the nominative and ablative singular, a usage which is especially un-Classical. The form *nesciens* for *nescius* is often used. In several instances *nesciens* is followed by the infinitive and subject accusative. In a number of instances the present participle is used for the ablative of the gerund to express means. The future participle is used attributively, as a predicate adjective, and to express purpose, but not very often. *Defunctus* is used for *mortuus* twice. The accusative of the gerundive is used as a predicate adjective eight times, and the nominative in the same way after passive verbs twice. The attributive use of the gerundive, somewhat similar in sense to adjectives in *-bilis,* has been found nine times.

In five different passages Augustine employs the dative of the gerundive to express purpose, a construction rarely used in the Classical period, but employed more extensively after Livy. An abstract noun with a verbal idea for a gerundive has been found once. The gerundive after *inter,* an ante-Classical, poetical, and post-Augustan usage, occurs once. The genitive of the gerund is followed by an object three times and the ablative of the gerundive with a noun in the accusative case in four instances. The ablative of the gerund for a present participle occurs three times. Causal ablative of the gerund appears once. *In* with the accusative of the gerund and gerundive to denote "end for which" has also been found, once each.

This summing up of the non-Classical peculiarities of the syntax of St. Augustine's Confessions shows a general conformity with the results already obtained in similar studies in other works of the Saint. Many of the peculiarities occur as rareties in Classical Latin itself, and with no greater frequency in Augustine's Confessions. There are some peculiarities, however, in which Augustine shows himself especially as an author of his own age, e. g. in the use of the genitive case, the confusion of transitive and intransitive verbs, his extended use of prepositions, and his confusion of pronouns and particles. However if comparison were to be made with the syntax of representative authors of the Silver age, e. g. Tacitus, rather than with that of the Golden Age and especially with Cicero, we would find little at variance in Augustine, and this difference would for the most part be due to the direct

influence of Holy Writ. Augustine contains little or nothing of what we understand by the strict sense of the term " Vulgar Latin." From this study and with due regard for similar studies in other authors, we may say with greater confidence: St. Augustine conforms to Classical requirements more than any other writer of the same period.

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